

Bulletin

Vol. XXXV, No. 908

November 19, 1956

**UNITED NATIONS SETS UP MIDDLE EAST POLICE
FORCE** • *Statements by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge,
Jr., and Texts of General Assembly Resolutions* 787

**THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION BEFORE THE GEN-
ERAL ASSEMBLY** • *Statements by Ambassador Henry
Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Ambassador James J. Wadsworth and
Texts of Resolutions* 800

**U.S. REJECTS SOVIET PROPOSAL TO USE FORCE IN
EGYPT; URGES U.S.S.R. TO WITHDRAW TROOPS
FROM HUNGARY**
White House Statement 795
Letter From President Eisenhower to Premier Bulganin . . . 796
Letter From Premier Bulganin to President Eisenhower . . . 796

**ISRAEL URGED TO WITHDRAW ARMED FORCES
FROM EGYPT** • *Texts of Messages Exchanged by Presi-
dent Eisenhower and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion* 797

**THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN OUR FOREIGN
POLICY** • *by Ben H. Thibodeaux* 808

**INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY ESTAB-
LISHED**
Letter and Statement by President Eisenhower 813
Statements by Ambassador James J. Wadsworth 815
Text of Statute 820

For index see inside back cover

OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XXXV, No. 908 • PUBLICATION 6416

November 19, 1956

The Department of State *BULLETIN*, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The *BULLETIN* includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:

52 issues, domestic \$7.50, foreign \$10.25
Single copy, 20 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1955).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force

*Statements by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
U.S. Representative to the United Nations*

Following is a series of statements made in the first emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly and in the Security Council by Ambassador Lodge on the question of developments in the Middle East, together with texts of pertinent resolutions. For background and earlier U.S. statements on this subject, see Bulletin of November 12, 1956, p. 747.

FIRST STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 3

U.S. delegation press release 2497

The position of the United States was made abundantly clear in the resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly the other night [November 2],¹ and so there is no need for me to repeat it now.

The United States deeply regrets the fact that this resolution, which represented the views of such an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, has not yet brought about a cessation of hostilities. The United States earnestly hopes that all parties in the conflict will be guided by the conclusive evidence of world opinion, which the very large vote the other night symbolized.

The United States is firmly convinced that the problems which gave rise to the present situation can and must be solved by peaceful and just means. A solution on any other basis would, at best, provide only a temporary respite. At worst, it would in all likelihood sow the seeds of even graver problems in the future.

That is why the United States believes that,

while we should continue our efforts to obtain quick compliance with the General Assembly's cease-fire resolution, we must not lose sight of the problems and conditions which gave rise to the present situation.

As Secretary Dulles said the other night,² the present situation has resulted from "a long and sad history of irritations and provocations." The instability of the armistice agreements is too well known to require comment. They have been violated repeatedly by Israel and by her Arab neighbors. The armistice, which should have led to a peaceful settlement, has instead given rise to growing provocation and increasing tension, especially since the ominous rearmament of Egypt by the Soviet Union.

The abrupt seizure by Egypt of the Universal Suez Canal Company and the failure thus far of efforts to find a solution to this important problem have created a situation of deep concern to many nations.

While the temptation is strong to place the whole blame on the states directly concerned, the fact is, as Secretary Dulles reminded us, that the United Nations must also share responsibility for what has happened. It is clear that we, the members of the United Nations, have not done all that should have been done to bring about the settlement of these matters in accordance with the principles of justice and international law.

That is why the United States today announced that it would introduce two resolutions dealing with the substance of the problems which gave rise to the present critical situation in the Middle East. These proposals are now before the Assem-

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 754.

² *Ibid.*, p. 751.

bly. With these resolutions we hope that we may begin now to lay the foundation for the constructive action which must follow a cessation of hostilities.

U.S. Resolution on Palestine

The first resolution³ proposes a new approach to the settlement of major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel, with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in the area.

Turning now to the first draft resolution which the United States has introduced for the consideration of this body: that relating to our new approach regarding settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in the area.

We all know the history of the long, conscientious, but painful efforts which have been made by the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the subsidiary bodies. In the last few years the majority of the deliberations of the Security Council have been devoted to the Palestine question and each session of the General Assembly has found us engaged in deliberations which we hoped might lead, however slowly, to better relations in the area. But the fact that we have hostilities there today indicates that those efforts have failed.

For this reason we must frankly look now to some new means which, given the support of this body and the cooperation of the parties concerned, may at last achieve a final and a just peace in this part of the world.

The agency of this Assembly which has since 1948 been charged with the responsibility of working out arrangements for a final resolution of the problems outstanding between Israel and the Arab States is the Palestine Conciliation Commission. The United States is a member of that Commission and together with the other two members strove to fulfill its assignment. Through the 8 years of its existence the Commission has achieved some few things. It has clarified a number of issues between the Arab States and Israel which stood in the way of a settlement. It has achieved the unconditional release of Arab accounts blocked in Israel. The Commission has also done a tremendous amount of slow and exact work in attempting to estimate

and evaluate the amount of compensation due on Arab property left in Israel by those who are now Arab refugees. Despite this work, however, in its 15th progress report, dated October 4 of this year,⁴ the Commission reported,

The Commission . . . must report again this year that in view of the unchanged attitudes of the parties and their failure to avail themselves of the Commission's services, the Commission has had no opportunity to exercise its general function of conciliation with any prospect of success.

This, in the U.S. Government's view, must be the final chapter of the Conciliation Commission's efforts. We must try something new—something free of the technical and procedural problems which confronted the Commission—if we are to have any justifiable hope of progress toward the settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel.

We can say this because we are a member of the Commission. The Commission has failed, and, while we should keep what it has achieved or is achieving, we must try something new. For this reason the United States is suggesting in its resolution the establishment of a new committee to be composed of five members of this General Assembly which will prepare recommendations after consultation with the parties to the General Armistice Agreements regarding a settlement of the major problems outstanding between them, with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in the area. We propose that this committee submit its recommendations to the parties concerned and to the General Assembly. If necessary, or as appropriate, these proposals might be submitted to the Security Council. The purpose of this is to insure the chance that the parties themselves, the General Assembly, or if necessary the Security Council, may have an opportunity to accept and act upon them. Alternatively, through the responses which the parties may make, the committee may continue to seek a settlement satisfactory and just to all and thus solve this critical problem once and for all.

Two other things in this connection are important, and therefore we address our resolution to them. We think there have been no more selfless and devoted international servants of justice and peace than the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision

³ U.N. doc. A/3272.

⁴ U. N. doc. A/3199.

Organization as they have sought to enforce the General Armistice Agreements and to act as the agents of the Security Council. It is not for this body to give them further suggestions or guidance. It is for this body to commend them for what they have done—for the diligence and the courage which they have shown—and to urge that those parties directly concerned cooperate fully with them as they carry out their presently imposed future tasks.

The second matter which warrants their concern is the plight of the Arab refugees. In the name of humanity it is important that through these critical and battle-torn days those most directly concerned should be certain that the Arab refugees are cared for and safe. To this end we make that recommendation and recommend further that all members of the United Nations consider and furnish that additional assistance to these refugees that may be necessary.

U.S. Resolution on Suez Canal

The second draft resolution⁶ which the United States has introduced offers a means of finding a solution to the Suez Canal question. The Security Council has already made certain recommendations which could form the basis for a settlement, but recent events have linked this question with the hostilities now being waged in that part of the world.

The Security Council's resolution of October 13⁶ emerged after many weeks of study of the Suez question and represents the efforts of many nations and many people. It sets forth the six basic principles which it is believed are necessary for a settlement of the Suez Canal question. We attach great importance to these principles. That is why the United States draft resolution has endorsed the October 13th resolution in its entirety.

The draft resolution then refers to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on November 2, which, *inter alia*, took note of the interruption of traffic in the canal to the serious prejudice of many nations and urged that steps be taken to reopen the canal and to restore the freedom of navigation upon the conclusion of the cease-fire.

Recognizing that the permanent solution to the situation must be consistent with the principles of justice and international law, the sovereignty

of Egypt, and the rights of the users of the canal as guaranteed by the convention of 1888, the draft resolution establishes a committee composed of three powers to assume the responsibility for:

(1) taking whatever measures are necessary for the immediate reopening of the canal as a secure international waterway, and

(2) drawing up a plan in consultation with the three nations most directly involved in the present problem for the purpose of operating and maintaining the canal and the freedom of passage through it in accordance with the convention of 1888 and the six requirements adopted by the Security Council on October 13, and

(3) adopting and putting such a plan into effect.

Finally, the draft resolution requests the committee to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate, invites the committee to make recommendations for a just and permanent solution to the Suez problem consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and requests the members of the United Nations to give the committee all appropriate assistance.

Mr. President, I urge this Assembly to seize this opportunity to make a start toward a solution of two of the gravest issues threatening world peace. The time to act is now, while the awful consequences of previous failures and delays are so clear.

Let us stop the futile process of patching up previous agreements and understandings which but serve to provide new pretexts for further provocations. Let us face up to our responsibilities under the charter to work together for a lasting settlement for what has become a dangerous threat to the peace of the world.

SECOND STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 3

U.S. delegation press release 2498

Let me thank the representative of Uruguay for yielding to me for just a moment. I did want to say that the United States likes the Canadian draft resolution⁷ very much. We are looking for something that will meet the immediate crisis that is in front of us, as well as something that will go to the causes and into the more long-range subjects.

⁶ U.N. doc. A/3273.

⁷ BULLETIN of Oct. 22, 1956, p. 616.

⁷ U.N. doc. A/3276 (Res/391).

We have presented two draft resolutions dealing with the long-range questions, and they obviously will require study and we are not pressing them to a vote tonight. We do think that this draft resolution of the Canadian Foreign Minister is one that should be acted on promptly, and we should like to see it given priority. We should like to see it acted on quickly this evening because it contains a real hope of meeting the very grave emergency that confronts the world.

STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 4

U.S. delegation press release 2503

In the very early hours of 2 November the General Assembly issued a clear call to the states engaged in hostilities in the Near East to agree on an immediate cease-fire and to withdraw their forces forthwith behind the armistice lines. That resolution of the Assembly was adopted by the vote of an overwhelming majority of members of the United Nations. I regret to say that the General Assembly had to take note last night of the fact that there had not yet been compliance with the terms of its resolution. Some of the parties to the hostilities addressed communications to the Secretary-General concerning their attitude toward a cease-fire and stating conditions upon which they were willing to heed the General Assembly's call, but the parties had not taken any effective steps to carry out the General Assembly recommendations.

Knowing full well the urgency of the situation in the face of human suffering and casualties, and realizing the need for international assistance to the parties in arranging for a cease-fire, the General Assembly last night [early morning, November 4] resolved, on the proposal of the delegation of India,⁸ that the Secretary-General should try to bring about the carrying out of the cease-fire by the parties and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into that part of the world. The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to report to it within 12 hours on the compliance achieved.

At the same time, the General Assembly adopted a draft resolution which had been submitted by the delegation of Canada and which requested the Secretary-General to try to arrange

for the withdrawal of forces behind the armistice lines and to submit to the General Assembly within 48 hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations force to supervise the cessation of hostilities.

We have now heard the report requested of the Secretary-General on compliance by the parties with the United Nations call for a cease-fire.⁹ It is most discouraging that the parties have not yet agreed upon a cessation of hostilities and that they have not yet given orders to their armed forces accordingly. The Secretary-General is to be greatly commended for his selfless and unflagging efforts, and we earnestly hope that within a short time he will be able to report compliance.

The Assembly's call for a cease-fire was unconditional. The states concerned—and, above all, those engaged in attack—must stop their military operations. There must be an immediate and unconditional cessation of the fighting. This was true when the Assembly first met in emergency special session; it is true now. Silencing of the guns is the necessary prelude to the solution of any—I repeat, any—of the problems which beset the Middle East. We appeal to the states engaged in hostilities—and particularly to Israel, France, and the United Kingdom—to honor their obligations under the charter of the United Nations and, as loyal members of the organization, to heed the General Assembly's call to stop the fighting.

The Secretary-General has been asked to present to us by early Tuesday [November 6] his full plan for setting up an emergency international force, as called for in the draft resolution which was submitted by Canada. We should do well to suspend our debate on this matter for the present and to adopt the draft resolution¹⁰ introduced by Canada, Colombia, and Norway, which would establish a United Nations command, in accordance with the Canadian draft resolution adopted by the Assembly. We should take this step immediately to permit the Secretary-General and the governments with which he is consulting to proceed at full speed in making plans for the emergency international force.

The United States earnestly hopes that the Government of Israel will agree without delay to the prompt withdrawal of its armed forces behind the armistice lines and will cooperate fully in carrying out the plan now being negotiated by the

⁸ U.N. doc. A/3289.

¹⁰ U.N. doc. A/3290 (Res/394).

Secretary-General. We hope that France and the United Kingdom will accept the plan envisaged in the Canadian proposal. We trust that the Government of Egypt, for its part, will be prepared to accept the temporary stationing within its territory of elements of the United Nations force in order to preserve peace in that part of the world.

It is most important that this plan should be speedily carried out. To facilitate the success of its operation, the United States is prepared to help—and help in an important way—as regards airlifts, shipping, transport, and supplies.

We very much fear that time is getting short. We therefore move that the debate should be closed in order that we may proceed to an immediate vote on the draft resolution submitted by Canada, Colombia, and Norway.

STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL ON NOVEMBER 5

U.S./U.N. press release 2505

Yesterday we learned of the butchery which Moscow was in the process of carrying out against the people of Hungary under cover of so-called "negotiations." Now we have the pending Soviet proposal.¹¹

I submit in all candor that it sets a somber record of cynicism and indifference to the values of international morality.

The Soviet draft resolution embodies an unthinkable suggestion—that Soviet military forces, together with those of the United States, should be sent into the fighting in Egypt unless the fighting stops within 12 hours. This would convert Egypt into a still larger battlefield.

The fact is that the United Nations, through the General Assembly, has acted and is acting on the situation in Egypt. It has ordered a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all forces from Egypt, and it has set up a United Nations Command for an emergency international force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities.

The Secretary-General is bending every effort to arrange a cease-fire, withdrawal of forces, and the setting up of the United Nations Command. His report to the Security Council this very night shows that he is making progress, and I understand that he hopes to make a further report tomorrow on compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

¹¹ U.N. doc. S/3736.

The question of the hostilities in Egypt is being actively dealt with by the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. We here should lend every assistance. In the judgment of the United States the course proposed by the Soviet Government would run counter to everything the General Assembly and the Secretary-General are doing.

For these reasons, we cannot possibly support the proposal of the Soviet Union.¹²

FIRST STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 7

U.S. delegation press release 2506

The second report of the Secretary-General¹³ marks a definite turning point in our efforts to restore peace in the Middle East. Much remains to be done before we can even begin to relax our efforts. But it appears to us now that we have achieved our first objective, which was to bring about a cease-fire.

We must now turn immediately to our second objective, which is to arrange for the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel, France, and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. May I say that we think that there is no time to lose.

The United States welcomes the prompt action of the governments which have responded to the request to supply personnel for an emergency international force. This force must be brought to Egypt just as soon as possible. As we have already made clear, the United States stands ready to cooperate in furnishing assistance such as airlifts, shipping, transport, and supplies. And we are ready to give that assistance immediately. We are ready right at this moment.

The United States realizes that several points remain to be elaborated, both in the Secretary-General's second report and in the plan embodied in the resolution now before us.¹⁴ This is particularly true with regard to the nature and scope of the function of the international force and of the responsibilities imposed upon the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee.

But such elaborations should not be—must not be—a pretext for delay.

¹² The Security Council refused to put the Soviet item on its agenda. The vote was 3 (Iran, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia) to 4 (Australia, France, U.K., U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Belgium, China, Cuba, Peru).

¹³ U.N. doc. A/3302.

¹⁴ U.N. doc. A/3308 (Res/395).

The United States has confidence in the Secretary-General and in the states which will comprise the Advisory Committee. We are certain that they will elaborate these points in the right way as fast as circumstances will permit. We know that they can be trusted to do their jobs with scrupulous regard for the principles laid down by this Assembly and for the interests of the states directly concerned.

If we are to accomplish our purpose, we must move quickly to carry out the plan embodied in the resolution contained in document A/3308 and sponsored by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, and Sweden. We must not hesitate. We must not falter at the last moment and thus make possible new and even more serious complications. Speed is vital. I therefore hope we shall vote on this resolution just as soon as possible.

Mr. President, we should vote at the same time on the resolution just read by the representative of Ceylon.¹⁵ It is consistent with the resolutions which the General Assembly has already adopted, and the United States will vote in favor of it. We consider it important that there should be no delay on either of these resolutions.

Perhaps I can close by speaking of an essentially human matter, and that is the victims of the military actions which have been undertaken in Egypt. Our hearts go out to these sufferers as a result of the events of the last few days.

Nor, Mr. President, can I leave this rostrum without expressing once again our deep admiration for the competence, for the speed, intelligence, and the determination with which our Secretary-General is discharging the heavy responsibilities which we have laid upon him. Seldom in human history has a man had such responsibilities imposed upon him, and I believe that we here in this Assembly should, for our part, act with the same speed and with the same determination that we expect and that we know we shall receive from him.

SECOND STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 7

U.S. delegation press release 2507

I come to the rostrum just to say how gratified the United States is that these resolutions have

¹⁵ U.N. doc. A/3309 (Res/396).

now been adopted and that the United Nations force is about to come into being, and then to make one brief announcement on behalf of the United States Government.

I have just informed the Secretary-General that we are ready, subject to his wishes, and wherever possible, to transport first contingents of the United Nations force on their way from their bases to Egypt immediately.

Let me also say this. We understand that the withdrawal will be phased with the speedy arrival of the international United Nations force. We hope that this phased operation, as contemplated by the resolution, will begin as soon as possible—and the sooner the better.

STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 10

U.S. delegation press release 2512

Introduction of U.S. Resolution

The United States would like to introduce a short draft resolution, which reads as follows:

The General Assembly

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session as a matter of priority the question on the agenda of its first emergency special session;
2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for its consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its first emergency special session, including the draft resolutions contained in documents A/3272 and A/3273;
3. *Requests* the General Assembly at its eleventh regular session to give urgent consideration to documents A/3272 and A/3273;
4. *Decides* that notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the first emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

Mr. President, the purpose of this resolution is to get consideration at an early date in the regular General Assembly of the two resolutions which we have sponsored, which aim at a long-range approach to the problems of Palestine and Suez. These two resolutions have been pending here for some time and I think everybody is familiar with them. They aim to get at the basic causes.

Now, we did not want to press for them at this special session because we did not want the actions that have been taken in this special session to be hampered. We wanted to be sure that those actions were in fact being carried out, that the cease-fire and the withdrawal and all those things were really well established.

Inasmuch as these two resolutions do deal with basic causes, we wanted all of the delegates to have time to study them and think about them and get instructions. We think it is important to get an equitable and a just solution of these problems which have caused the world so much anxiety. That is the whole purpose of this very short resolution, to see that these are transferred to the regular session for urgent consideration.

Additional Statement

I merely wanted to say that what we want to do is entirely consistent with what the representative of Egypt spoke about.

We do not want to get into the long-range factors in any way that will interfere with the cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops, and the entry of the international force. In fact, that is why we are not pressing these resolutions here in this special session today for that very reason.

We want to be sure that all of the decisions that the special session has taken concerning a cease-fire and the withdrawal and the entry of the international force are well established and being carried out before we go to this other matter.

Then, once that has happened, we do think that we should go into the basic causes and try to look for the underlying factors. What we want is to get consideration in the General Assembly after this phase that we are in now is finished.

In the interests of harmony and in order to meet everybody's views as much as possible, I will be glad to delete paragraph 3. I am not trying to commit subsequent Assemblies. Mr. President, I understand I have the right to modify my own resolution, so I delete paragraph 3, and that will I think take care of the viewpoints that have been expressed here by the honorable delegates.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Resolution Requesting Plan for U.N. Force ¹⁸

U.N. doc. A/Res/391

The General Assembly,
Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with its resolution of 2 November 1956,

¹⁸ Proposed by Canada (U.N. doc. A/3276); adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 4 by a vote of 57 to 0, with 19 abstentions (Soviet bloc, Australia, Austria, Egypt, France, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Portugal, Union of South Africa, U.K.).

Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours, a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution.

Second Cease-Fire Resolution ¹⁷

U.N. doc. A/Res/392

The General Assembly,
Noting with regret that not all the parties concerned have yet agreed to comply with the provisions of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

Noting the special priority given in the resolution to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area,

Noting further that the resolution urged the parties to the Armistice Agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the Armistice Agreements,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution of 2 November 1956 and once again calls upon the parties immediately to comply with the provisions of the said resolution;

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area and requests him to report compliance forthwith and, in any case, not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the present resolution;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization to obtain compliance of the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines;

4. *Decides* to meet again immediately on receipt of the Secretary-General's report referred to in paragraph 2 of the present resolution.

Resolution Establishing U.N. Command ¹⁹

U.N. doc. A/Res/394

The General Assembly,
Having requested the Secretary-General in its resolution

¹⁷ Proposed by 19 Asian-African governments (U.N. doc. A/3275); adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 4 by a vote of 59 to 5 (Australia, France, Israel, New Zealand, U.K.), with 12 abstentions (Belgium, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Iceland, Laos, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Union of South Africa).

¹⁹ Proposed by Canada, Colombia, and Norway (U.N. doc. A/3290); adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 5 by a vote of 57 to 0, with 19 abstentions (Soviet bloc, Australia, Egypt, France, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Portugal, Turkey, Union of South Africa, U.K.).

tion adopted on 4 November 1956¹⁹ to submit to it a plan for an emergency international United Nations force, for the purposes stated,

Noting with satisfaction the first report of the Secretary-General on the plan²⁰ and having in mind particularly paragraph 4 of that report,

1. *Establishes* a United Nations Command for an emergency international force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956;

2. *Appoints*, on an emergency basis, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, as Chief of the Command;

3. *Authorizes* the Chief of the Command immediately to recruit from the observer corps of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization a limited number of officers who shall be nationals of countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council, and further authorizes him, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council, of the additional number of officers needed;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution.

Resolution Establishing Advisory Committee to U.N. Emergency Force²¹

U.N. doc. A/Res/395

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution of 2 November 1956, concerning the cease-fire, withdrawal of troops and other matters related to the military operations in Egyptian territory, as well as its resolution of 4 November 1956, concerning the request to the Secretary-General to submit a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force,

Having established in its resolution of 5 November 1956,²² a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force, having appointed the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization as Chief of the Command with authorization to him to begin recruitment of officers for the Command, and having invited the Secretary-General to take the administrative measures necessary for the prompt execution of that resolution,

Noting with appreciation the second and final report of the Secretary-General²³ on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force as requested in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956, and having examined that plan,

¹⁹ U.N. doc. A/Res/391.

²⁰ U.N. doc. A/3289.

²¹ Proposed by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, and Sweden (U.N. doc. A/3308); adopted, as amended, by the General Assembly on Nov. 7 by a vote of 64 to 0, with 12 abstentions (Soviet bloc, Egypt, Israel, Union of South Africa).

²² U.N. doc. A/Res/394.

²³ U.N. doc. A/3302.

1. *Expresses its approval* of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the emergency international United Nations Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report;

2. *Concurs* in the definition of the functions of the Force as stated in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report;

3. *Invites* the Secretary-General to continue discussions with Governments of Member States concerning offers of participation in the Force, toward the objective of its balanced composition;

4. *Requests* the Chief of the Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General as regards size and composition, to proceed forthwith with the full organization of the Force;

5. *Approves, provisionally*, the basic rule concerning the financing of the Force laid down in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. *Establishes* an Advisory Committee composed of one representative from each of the following countries: Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway and Pakistan, and requests this Committee, whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the Force and its operation not already dealt with by the General Assembly and which do not fall within the area of the direct responsibility of the Chief of the Command;

7. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to issue all regulations and instructions which may be essential to the effective functioning of the Force, following consultation with the Advisory Committee aforementioned, and to take all other necessary administrative and executive actions;

8. *Determines* that, following the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities defined for it in operative paragraphs 6 and 7 above, the Advisory Committee shall continue to assist the Secretary-General in the responsibilities falling to him under the present and other relevant resolutions;

9. *Decides* that the Advisory Committee, in the performance of its duties, shall be empowered to request, through the usual procedures, the convening of the General Assembly and to report to the Assembly whenever matters arise which, in its opinion, are of such urgency and importance as to require consideration by the General Assembly itself;

10. *Requests* all Member States to afford assistance as necessary to the United Nations Command in the performance of its functions, including arrangements for passage to and from the area involved.

Resolution Calling for Withdrawal of Israeli, British, and French Forces²⁴

U.N. doc. A/Res/396

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities on 2, 4 and 5 November 1956,

²⁴ Proposed by 19 Asian-African governments (U.N. doc. A/3309); adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 7 by a vote of 65 to 1 (Israel), with 10 abstentions (Australia, Belgium, France, Laos, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Union of South Africa, U.K.).

Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution of 5 November 1956, established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

1. *Reaffirms* the above-mentioned resolutions;
2. *Calls once again upon* Israel immediately to withdraw all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949;²⁵
3. *Calls once again upon* the United Kingdom and France immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;
4. *Urges* the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned, and requests

U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary

Following are texts of a White House statement, a letter from President Eisenhower to Nikolai A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, and a letter to the President from the Soviet Premier. The White House statement and President Eisenhower's letter were released to the press on November 5.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 5

The President has just received a letter from Chairman Bulganin which had been previously released to the press in Moscow. This letter—in an obvious attempt to divert world attention from the Hungarian tragedy—makes the unthinkable suggestion that the United States join with the Soviet Union in a bipartite employment of their military forces to stop the fighting in Egypt.

The Middle East question—in which there has been much provocation on all sides—is now before the United Nations. That world body has called for a cease-fire, a withdrawal of foreign armed forces, and the entry of a United Nations force to stabilize the situation pending a settlement. In this connection, it is to be regretted that the Soviet Union did not vote last night in favor of the organization of this United Nations force. All

him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution.

Resolution Referring Middle East Question to 11th General Assembly²⁶

U.N. doc. A/Res/400

The General Assembly

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its first emergency special session;
2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its first emergency special session;
3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the first emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

parties concerned, however, should accept these United Nations resolutions promptly and in good faith.

Neither Soviet nor any other military forces should now enter the Middle East area except under United Nations mandate. Any such action would be directly contrary to the present resolution of the United Nations, which has called for the withdrawal of those foreign forces which are now in Egypt. The introduction of new forces under these circumstances would violate the United Nations Charter, and it would be the duty of all United Nations members, including the United States, to oppose any such effort.

While we are vitally concerned with the situation in Egypt, we are equally concerned with the situation in Hungary. There, Soviet forces are at this very moment brutally repressing the human rights of the Hungarian people. Only last night the General Assembly in emergency session adopted a resolution calling on the Soviet Union to cease immediately its military operations against the Hungarian people and to withdraw its forces from that country. The Soviet Union voted against this resolution, just as it had vetoed an earlier resolution in the Security Council. The

²⁵ Proposed by United States (U.N. doc. A/3329); adopted, as amended, by the General Assembly on Nov. 10 by a vote of 66 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Greece, Guatemala).

²⁶ Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.

Soviet Union is, therefore, at this moment in defiance of a decision of the United Nations, taken to secure peace and justice in the world.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the first and most important step that should be taken to insure world peace and security is for the Soviet Union to observe the United Nations resolution to cease its military repression of the Hungarian people and withdraw its troops. Only then would it be seemly for the Soviet Union to suggest further steps that can be taken toward world peace.

Since Chairman Bulganin has already released his letter to the President, it is proper now to release a letter written by the President yesterday to the Chairman about the situation in Hungary.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO PREMIER BULGANIN, NOVEMBER 4

I have noted with profound distress the reports which have reached me today from Hungary.

The Declaration of the Soviet Government of October 30, 1956,¹ which restated the policy of non-intervention in internal affairs of other states, was generally understood as promising the early withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary. Indeed, in that statement, the Soviet Union said that "it considered the further presence of Soviet Army units in Hungary can serve as a cause for an even greater deterioration of the situation." This pronouncement was regarded by the United States Government and myself as an act of high statesmanship. It was followed by the express request of the Hungarian Government for the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

Consequently, we have been inexpressibly shocked by the apparent reversal of this policy. It is especially shocking that this renewed application of force against the Hungarian Government and people took place while negotiations were going on between your representatives and those of the Hungarian Government for the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

As you know, the Security Council of the United Nations has been engaged in an emergency examination of this problem. As late as yesterday afternoon the Council was led to believe by your representative that the negotiations then in progress in Budapest were leading to agreement which would result in the withdrawal of Soviet forces

from Hungary as requested by the government of that country. It was on that basis that the Security Council recessed its consideration of this matter.

I urge in the name of humanity and in the cause of peace that the Soviet Union take action to withdraw Soviet forces from Hungary immediately and to permit the Hungarian people to enjoy and exercise the human rights and fundamental freedoms affirmed for all peoples in the United Nations Charter.

The General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting in emergency session this afternoon in New York to consider this tragic situation. It is my hope that your representative will be in a position to announce at the session today that the Soviet Union is preparing to withdraw its forces from that country and to allow the Hungarian people to enjoy the right to a government of their own choice.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

LETTER FROM PREMIER BULGANIN TO THE PRESIDENT, NOVEMBER 5

[Unofficial translation]

ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT: In this troubled and responsible moment for the cause of universal peace, I approach you on behalf of the Soviet Government. One week has passed already since the armed forces of Britain, France, and—obedient to the will of external forces—Israel, without any reason attacked Egypt, bringing in their wake death and destruction. Inhuman bombardment by the British and French Air Forces against Egyptian airfields, ports, installations, towns, and inhabited localities is taking place. Anglo-French troops have landed on Egyptian territory. From the invaders' fire tremendous values created by the hands of the Egyptian people are perishing and the toll of human life is mounting every day.

An aggressive war against Egypt, against the Arab peoples whose sole fault is that they upheld their freedom and independence, is unfolding before the eyes of the entire world. The situation in Egypt calls for immediate and most resolute action on the part of the U.N. Organization. In the event such action is not undertaken, the U.N. Organization will lose its prestige in the eyes of mankind and will fall apart.

The Soviet Union and the United States are permanent members of the Security Council and the two great powers which possess all modern types of arms, including atomic and hydrogen weapons. We bear particular responsibility for stopping war and reestablishing peace and calm in the area of the Near and Middle East. We are convinced that if the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the United States will firmly declare their will to insure peace and oppose aggression, the aggression will be put down and there will be no war.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 745.

Mr. President, at this threatening hour, when the loftiest moral principles and the foundations and aims of the United Nations are being put to the test, the Soviet Government approaches the Government of the United States with a proposal of close cooperation in order to put an end to aggression and to stop any further bloodshed.

The United States has a strong navy in the zone of the Mediterranean. The Soviet Union also has a strong navy and a powerful air force. The joint and immediate use of these means by the United States and the Soviet Union according to a decision of the United Nations would be a sure guaranty of ending the aggression against the Egyptian people, against the people of the Arab East.

The Soviet Government turns to the U.S. Government with an appeal to join their forces in the United Nations for the adoption of decisive measures to put an end to the aggression. The Soviet Government has already turned to the Security Council and the special extraordinary session of the General Assembly with suitable proposals. Such joint steps of the United States and the Soviet Union do not threaten the interests of Britain and France. The popular masses of Britain and France do not want war. They, like our people, desire the maintenance of peace. Many other states also, together with Britain and France, are interested in the immediate pacification and resumption of the normal functioning of the Suez Canal, interrupted by the military operations.

The aggression against Egypt has not been committed for the sake of free navigation along the Suez Canal, which was safeguarded. The piratical war was launched with the aim of restoring colonial order in the East, an order which had been overthrown by the people. If this war is not stopped it carries the danger of turning into a third world war.

If the Soviet Union and the United States will support the victim of the aggression, then other states, members of the United Nations, will join us in these efforts. By this the authority of the United Nations will be considerably enhanced and peace will be restored and strengthened.

The Soviet Government is ready to enter into immediate negotiations with the Government of the United States on the practical realization of the above-mentioned proposals, so that effective action in the interests of peace might be undertaken within the next hours.

At this tense moment of history, when the fate of the entire Arab East is being decided, and at the same time the fate of the world, I await your favorable reply.

With sincere respect,

BULGANIN

Letters of Credence

Great Britain

The newly appointed Ambassador of Great Britain, Sir Harold Anthony Caccia, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on November 9. For the text of the Ambassador's remarks and the text of the President's reply, see Department of State press release 577.

Israel Urged To Withdraw Armed Forces From Egypt

White House press release dated November 8

Following are texts of messages exchanged by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION, NOVEMBER 7

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: As you know, the General Assembly of the United Nations has arranged a cease-fire in Egypt to which Egypt, France, the United Kingdom and Israel have agreed. There is being dispatched to Egypt a United Nations force in accordance with pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly. That body has urged that all other foreign forces be withdrawn from Egyptian territory, and specifically, that Israeli forces be withdrawn to the General Armistice line. The resolution covering the cease-fire and withdrawal was introduced by the United States and received the overwhelming vote of the Assembly.

Statements attributed to your Government to the effect that Israel does not intend to withdraw from Egyptian territory, as requested by the United Nations, have been called to my attention. I must say frankly, Mr. Prime Minister, that the United States views these reports, if true, with deep concern. Any such decision by the Government of Israel would seriously undermine the urgent efforts being made by the United Nations to restore peace in the Middle East, and could not but bring about the condemnation of Israel as a violator of the principles as well as the directives of the United Nations.

It is our belief that as a matter of highest priority peace should be restored and foreign troops, except for United Nations forces, withdrawn from Egypt, after which new and energetic steps should be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations to solve the basic problems which have given rise to the present difficulty. The United States has tabled in the General Assembly two resolutions designed to accomplish the latter purposes [U.N. docs. A/3272 and 3273], and hopes that they will be acted upon favorably as soon as the present emergency has been dealt with.

I need not assure you of the deep interest which the United States has in your country, nor recall

the various elements of our policy of support to Israel in so many ways. It is in this context that I urge you to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly dealing with the current crisis and to make your decision known immediately. It would be a matter of the greatest regret to all my countrymen if Israeli policy on a matter of such grave concern to the world should in any way impair the friendly cooperation between our two countries.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, NOVEMBER 8

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have only this afternoon received your message which was delayed in transmission owing to a breakdown in communications between the Department of State and the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv.

Your statement that a United Nations force is being dispatched to Egypt in accordance with pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly is welcomed by us. We have never planned to annex the Sinai Desert. In view of the United Nations Resolutions regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the creation of an international force, we will, upon conclusion of satisfactory arrangements with the United Nations in connection with this international force entering the Suez Canal area, willingly withdraw our forces.

Although an important part of our aim has been achieved by the destruction, as a result of the Sinai operation, of Fedayeen gangs and of the bases from which they were planned and directed, we must repeat our urgent request to the United Nations to call upon Egypt, which has consistently maintained that it is in a state of war with Israel, to renounce this position, to abandon its policy of boycott and blockade, to cease the incursions into Israel territory of murder gangs and, in accordance with its obligations under the United Nations Charter, to live at peace with member states, to enter into direct peace negotiations with Israel.

On behalf of my government I wish to express to you our gratification at your reference to the deep interest of the United States in Israel and

its policy of support for our country. I know these words of friendship stem from the depths of your heart and I wish to assure you that you will always find Israel ready to make its noble contribution at the side of the United States in its efforts to strengthen justice and peace in the world.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

DAVID BEN-GURION

Evacuation of Americans From Middle East

Press release 578 dated November 9

The Department announced on November 9 that approximately 2,600 Americans had left the Middle East as the result of the warning by the United States issued on October 28.¹ The great bulk of the Americans, together with an estimated 600 foreign nationals who had requested assistance, were evacuated on ships and planes of the U.S. Navy and Air Force. Nearly all the evacuees were removed to safehavens in Italy, Lebanon, and Greece.

Information available to the Department of State indicates that approximately 2,500 U.S. citizens in the four countries evacuated declined to leave. Some of these are missionaries, but most have close family ties or business interests which they are unwilling to sever under present circumstances.

The American Embassy is now assisting evacuees in Rome to obtain housing and onward transportation if desired. Persons desiring to communicate with friends or relatives still remaining in the Middle East should utilize regular communications as in the past. Inquiries regarding evacuees should be addressed to the Office of Special Consular Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. (telephone: REpublic 7-7500, extension 2239).

The U.S. Government's warning was directed to Americans in Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and Syria. Evacuation of each of these countries was carried out under the direction of the U.S. Ambassador. The largest single movement was from Cairo, where more than 1,200 U.S. citizens, together with some 500 foreign nationals, traveled overland in

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 5, 1956, p. 700.

motor convoys 100 miles to Alexandria, where they boarded U.S. Navy ships.

The evacuation of Cairo was carried out while fighting was in progress between Anglo-French forces and the Egyptians. A bomb blasted a check point on the Cairo-Alexandria road a few minutes after the motor convoy had passed, and in Alexandria harbor Egyptian warships fired on Anglo-French aircraft while the evacuees were boarding ships. There are no reports of injuries to evacuees. The Commander of the Sixth Fleet, Vice Adm. Charles R. Brown, reported "all have reached safety without a single injury or a hair out of line."

All military assistance in the evacuation, including some 40 aircraft of the U.S. Air Force, was under the direction of Adm. Walter F. Boone, Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, the top American commander in the area. Air Force planes were used principally in the evacuation from Israel, airlifting approximately 475 persons to Athens and later assisting in a shuttle of evacuees from Athens to Rome. Navy ships evacuated another 166 persons through the port of Haifa.

Both Trans World Airlines and Pan American Airways promptly offered assistance in the emergency. Pan American flew evacuees from Beirut, Lebanon, to Rome, and TWA participated in the shuttle air service between Athens and Rome. Prior to the arrival of U.S. Navy ships in Alexandria, an American Export Line ship, the S.S. *Exochorda*, transported approximately 300 evacuees from Egypt to Naples.

The total of evacuees from both Syria and Jordan, including foreign nationals assisted by the United States, was 390. They were evacuated to Beirut, Lebanon, principally in motor vehicles or by chartered planes of Air Jordan and Arab Airways. A U.S. Air Force C-119 also aided in the Syrian evacuation.

Overall coordination of the evacuation was centered in the American Embassy in Rome. In constant touch with the Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean and the U.S. Sixth Fleet, a special Embassy team worked round-the-clock until the evacuation

was completed. The elapsed time from the first warning until all evacuees reached safety was 8 days. The MSTS transport, the USNS *General Patch*, delivered the last of the evacuees to Naples November 6. The *Patch* had rendezvoused 2 days earlier with ships of the Sixth Fleet in Suda Bay, Crete, taking on all evacuees from Alexandria and Haifa and bringing them to Naples.

U.S. Law Concerning Service in Armed Forces of Foreign States

Press release 579 dated November 10

In view of the current situation in the Near East the Department of State desires to bring to the attention of all American citizens the provisions of section 349 (a) (3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

This section of the act provides that American citizens shall lose their citizenship by entering or serving in the armed forces of a foreign state unless, prior to such entry or service, the entry or service is specifically authorized in writing by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense. Authorization has not so far been granted in any individual case and there is no intention of departing from this policy.

The Department refers in addition to its announcement of November 2, 1956,¹ regarding the issuance of an order invalidating all outstanding passports for travel to Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and Syria, except those of persons remaining in those countries and of Government officials and their families en route to or stationed there. Passports of persons within any of these four countries will become invalid for return thereto when they proceed to a country other than Aden, Bahrein, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Muscat and Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, or Yemen. Passports invalidated for travel to or in Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and Syria will remain invalid for travel there unless specifically endorsed for travel to or in one or more of these countries or until the order is revoked.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 756.

The Hungarian Question Before the General Assembly

Following are texts of statements made by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., U.S. Representative to the United Nations, and by James J. Wadsworth, Deputy U.S. Representative, before the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, together with texts of five resolutions adopted during the special session.¹

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE, NOVEMBER 4

U.S. delegation press release 2501

At dawn this morning Soviet troops in Hungary opened fire in Budapest and throughout the country. We learn from Vienna that the Soviet artillery were firing incendiary phosphorus shells at centers of civilian population. These are the shells which set fire to buildings and which burn the flesh of women and children and other civilian noncombatants whom they encounter. Prime Minister Nagy has appealed to the United Nations for help, and I must say we can understand it.

After several days of ominous reports the situation in Hungary has become all too clear. What is revealed is a sickening picture of duplicity and doubledealing. While this wholesale brutality by the Soviet Government was being perpetrated, the Soviet representative here in this hall was praising peace and praising nonaggression and raising his hands in horror against bloodshed in the Near East. All of us who are striving with every fiber of our being for peace in the Near East can never forget this unutterable cynicism.

¹ The session was called under the Uniting-for-Peace resolution, pursuant to a request by Ambassador Lodge made during an early-morning meeting of the Security Council on Nov. 4, at which the U.S.S.R. had vetoed a U.S. proposal on the situation in Hungary. For texts of the vetoed proposal and of Ambassador Lodge's statements in the Security Council, see BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 757.

For the last few days Soviet movements into Hungary have been reported. These reports have been accompanied by Soviet assurances to the United Nations and to the Hungarian Government that Soviet troops in Hungary had not and would not be reenforced. The reported movements were pictured as the redeployment of Soviet forces stationed in the country.

As late as 10 o'clock last night Soviet representatives began negotiations—or what was described as negotiations—with Hungarian representatives ostensibly for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary pursuant to Hungary's decision to renounce its membership in the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet Union has made little pretense lately of its urge to dominate Hungary by the power of its military machine. It talked about a new relationship with its satellites based on sovereign equality and independence and nonintervention in internal affairs. It spoke of negotiations under the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of its troops from some of these countries, particularly Hungary, where it admitted that the further presence of its army units could "serve as a cause for an even greater deterioration of the situation"—a deterioration which has, of course, so tragically occurred.

What a picture of deception we have had!

When Prime Minister Nagy formed his government, this was how *Pravda* itself, the Soviet Government organ, described the Nagy government on October 28th:

Today Budapest radio announced the formation of a new national government of the Hungarian People's Republic on a broad democratic basis led by Comrade Imre Nagy. The new government immediately took up its duties. The Hungarian Government, guided by a desire to insure that no one of the honest but misled people should be punished, declared an amnesty for "all who voluntarily laid down their arms."

On October 30 Moscow radio which, of course, as in all totalitarian states is the official government radio station—something which we haven't got here—was telling its listeners in Europe that: "fortunately under the leadership of Imre Nagy's government . . . life is gradually returning to normal," and on the same day Moscow radio told its own people: "The Hungarian working people have welcomed with satisfaction the statement made yesterday by Imre Nagy which was approved by the Hungarian Workers' Party and which announced the program of action of the Government." That is what Moscow radio and *Pravda* said then.

Today *Pravda* called erstwhile "Comrade" Nagy "an accomplice of reactionary forces."

Others nearby, who can judge well the meaning of Hungary's fight, also spoke of the Nagy government. Here are some instances:

The Polish Communist United Workers' Party published a statement on October 29 in which it lauded the program of Nagy's new government, saying it corresponded "to the aspirations of the Hungarian people and the entire cause of peace." *Tribuna Ludu*, the Polish Communist newspaper, on the same day, proclaimed Poland's "deep solidarity" for Hungary's new leadership and support for its program. This program, said the Polish paper, is "similar to our own and, like our own program, corresponds to the deepest desire of the masses." That is from one surrounding Communist country.

On October 29 President Tito sent a letter to the Hungarians in which he expressed the confidence that "under the new leadership" they would overcome all difficulties. He spoke of profound admiration for all those "progressive men in neighboring Hungary who in these days have made great efforts to turn this tragic struggle into an era of renaissance." The Yugoslav public, President Tito said, "unanimously hails the establishment of the new state and political leadership and the declaration of the Hungarian Government of October 28." President Tito concluded by wishing Nagy "success in his efforts."

On October 29 the Czechoslovak Government, too, sent a message to the Nagy government in which it "sincerely welcomed" the great efforts made by the Hungarian Government to establish peace in the country, efforts which they said "are in accordance with the fundamental interests of the entire Hungarian people. The Czechoslovak

Government expressed its firm confidence that the Hungarian Government, backed by the support of the people and by the power of socialist democracy, will successfully insure the fulfillment of the great tasks ahead."

On October 29 the Czechoslovak Communist Party sent a message to the Hungarian Communists—it will be recalled that Prime Minister Nagy himself was a Communist who sought to lead his country to freedom from Soviet enslavement—in which it expressed its support for Nagy's efforts to "achieve progress" and to "deepen Socialist democracy." That is what they were saying on October 28th and 29th.

Now, what could have changed the situation in so short a time? The desire of Prime Minister Nagy to govern Hungary for the Hungarians? Did the Soviet Union fear this? Constant deceitful reinforcements of the Soviet troops in Hungary during these fateful days say that they do.

It is now reliably reported, Mr. President, that Soviet forces have occupied the Parliament building in Budapest. Prime Minister Nagy and other members of his government are now under arrest. Pal Maleter, the Minister of Defense and heroic defender of the Maria Theresa Barracks against Soviet assault, who only yesterday was engaged in negotiations with Soviet military representatives for troop withdrawal, is also under arrest. A Soviet ultimatum was issued calling for capitulation of Budapest by noon and threatening the bombing of the city if it did not capitulate.

Views of Cardinal Mindszenty

As I announced at the Security Council meeting at 4 o'clock this morning,² Cardinal Mindszenty and his secretary have sought refuge at the U.S. Legation in Budapest. I think that makes it appropriate to quote a recent broadcast only yesterday which Cardinal Mindszenty recorded on Radio Budapest, and I would like to quote a passage because these are the last public words spoken by Cardinal Mindszenty that we have:

A national feeling should never again be a source of fighting between countries but the pledge of justice and peaceful cooperation. Let the feeling of nationality flourish in the whole world in the field of common culture. Thus, the progress of one country will carry along to the other country, between nations, which according to the laws of nature are more and more reliant upon each other. We Hungarians want to live and act as the

² U.S./U.N. press release 2500 (not printed).

standard bearers of the family of peoples of the European nations. Let cooperation be the base, which means true friendship between the nations. And looking toward ever more distant parts, we, the little nation, desire to live in friendship and mutual respect with the great American United States and with the mighty Russian empire alike, in good neighborly relations with Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw, and in this respect I must mention, for the brotherly understanding in our present suffering, every Hungarian has embraced to his heart Austria.

That, Mr. President, is what could in all solemn truth be called a spirit of peaceful coexistence, as uttered by Cardinal Mindszenty, in the best sense of the word if Soviet hypocrisy had not robbed that phrase of all honest meaning.

Let us not be deceived by this cynical and wanton act of aggression against the Hungarian people and its Government. A small group of Soviet straw men announced their own formation as a government at the moment Soviet troops began their attack. We have seen no passage of governmental authority from one Hungarian government to another, but only the creation of a puppet clique and the overthrow of a liberal socialist government responsive to popular will in their desire to see these troops go. Two hours after the attack began, the new puppet group appealed to the Soviet Union to come to its assistance. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that the Soviet action is undertaken in response to any request for assistance. The "assistance," and I put that in quotes, arrived long before the call.

This is how General Janos Kadar, the Communist puppet installed by Soviet military intervention this morning, spoke of Prime Minister Nagy when the Prime Minister first took over the government: "I am in wholehearted agreement with Nagy, an acquaintance and friend of mine, my esteemed and respected compatriot." Wonderful friend—he was with him up to the hilt.

We must take drastic and decisive action here in this Assembly to answer the appeal of the Hungarian Government. The United States delegation therefore is submitting a draft resolution which we believe should be promptly put to the vote. I would now like to read the resolution:

[Here Ambassador Lodge read the U.S. draft (U.N. doc. A/3286).]

That is our resolution. It is aimed at securing speedy action to cope with the grave situation. We do not believe that it is sufficient only to call upon the Soviet Union to desist from any further inter-

vention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to withdraw all its troops without delay.

We urge also that the Secretary-General directly investigate the situation in Hungary without delay and report to the Assembly as soon as possible. We call upon the Soviet Union and Hungary to admit representatives of the Secretary-General to Hungarian territory, and if there is nothing to hide they have nothing to fear from the visit of impartial observers.

Principles Adopted at Bandung

In this connection, let me remind the Soviet representative that the Soviet Union professes to support certain basic principles which 29 countries meeting in April 1955 at Bandung in Indonesia adopted as precepts for international conduct. There were 10 principles set forth as the basis for developing friendly cooperation among nations. These, I understand, include five principles of so-called peaceful coexistence, in support of which the Soviet Union has been talking but not acting. Those principles, subsequently endorsed specifically by leaders of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their visit to various countries in Asia, are relevant to the situation in Hungary. What the Soviet Union has done these past hours in Hungary demonstrates how hollow are the Soviet statements praising the Bandung declaration.

Let us ask the members of this Assembly:

Has the Soviet Union shown "respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" in its action in Hungary?

Has it shown "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations"?

Has it abstained from "intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country"?

Has it refrained "from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country"?

I have used the language of Bandung in these questions, and the facts speak for themselves.

We cannot stand idly by while the Hungarians are dragged bodily back into servitude even as they were reemerging into independence and freedom. The principles set forth in the charter of the United Nations are at stake. The basic and fundamental right of self-determination which so many in this hall have endorsed time and again is in grave danger. If we fail to act, it will consti-

tute a base betrayal of the people of Hungary, who have appealed to us for aid.

The Hungarian people can be sure that the United Nations will accept their cause as its own.

They can also be sure that the United Nations will mobilize its resources to assure that the Hungarian people, who have fought so fiercely for their independence and freedom in these anguished days, will find a willing response from the . . .

[At this point a message was handed to Ambassador Lodge.]

I have just received a message from President Eisenhower, which I would like to read now.³ It is very short.

I feel that world opinion, which was so uplifted only a few days ago by the news that the Soviet Union intended to withdraw its forces from Hungary, has now suffered corresponding shock and dismay at the Soviet attack on the peoples and Government of Hungary.

I met today with the Secretary of State at Walter Reed Hospital and later with the Acting Secretary of State . . . to discuss the ways and means available to the United States which would result in:

1. Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
2. Achieve for Hungary its own right of self-determination and the choice of its own government.

I have sent an urgent message to Premier Bulganin on these points. [See p. 796.]

There was likewise a thorough review of the Middle East situation and the measures now under way in the United Nations to restore peace in that area and to lay the groundwork for constructive solutions of its problems.

Mr. President, let us so conduct ourselves here this afternoon that the United Nations will mobilize its resources to insure that the Hungarian people, who have fought so fiercely for their independence and freedom in these anguished days, will find a willing response from the people of nations blessed in having these priceless treasures to give them material aid and comfort in the alleviation of their suffering and distress.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 4⁴

U.N. doc. A/Res/393

The General Assembly,

Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

³ The statement was released to the press by the White House on Nov. 4.

⁴ Submitted by the U.S. (U.N. doc. A/3286); adopted, as amended, by a vote of 50 to 8, with 15 abstentions.

Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947 and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

Noting moreover the declaration by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 30 October 1956, of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

Noting the communication of 1 November 1956⁵ of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956⁶ from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the peoples of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

2. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

3. *Affirms* the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

⁵ BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 761, footnote (U.N. doc. A/3251).

⁶ U.N. doc. S/3726.

6. *Calls upon* all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

8. *Requests* all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE, NOVEMBER 9

It is some measure of the deep sadness which is in our hearts that the speeches here have had some of the quality of funeral orations. I say "some" because, however sad we are, we cannot believe that this is in fact the end of Hungarian independence. We refuse to admit that the glorious dead of these past weeks have died in vain.

The Soviet Union has already paid an immense price for this bullying of a defenseless people. In Western Europe the newspapers tell us people are leaving the Communist Party in droves. Communist headquarters are being burned; angry crowds of working people are parading and demonstrating against these 1956 models of totalitarian imperialism.

We must, therefore, not let the memory of this outrage die. Let the world never forget that the Soviet Union is in open defiance of the General Assembly call to desist from armed attack on the peoples of Hungary. Let it also be remembered that, since the resolution was passed, the Soviet Union has actually stepped up its attack.

The Hungarian people have been fighting with small arms, pitchforks, and bare hands against massive formations of Soviet tanks. We hear that Soviet tanks have taken over bridges and roads, blocking all movement, even the movement of food and medical supplies. Hospitals are ablaze. Red Cross units, on their missions of mercy, have been attacked. Other legitimate Red Cross activities have been halted on Soviet orders. Such interference with the flow of medical aid—of all things—is proof of a horrifying callousness to human suffering.

All reports of the fighting of the past few days in the streets of Budapest use the word "savage" in describing the fury and speed of the Russian Army's attack against the people of Hungary, and even now, when resistance is broken, there

are reports of heavy shellings still going on. Pathetic appeals for help were coming even yesterday from radio stations remaining in the hands of the Hungarian people.

The Hungarian people—unlike the young man [Janos Szabo] who claims to represent them here at the United Nations—are asking: When will the United Nations observers come?

Nothing can blot from human memory the sickening spectacle of Soviet tanks firing upon a literally unarmed population. Nothing can wipe out the black memory of military assaults on hospitals. Nothing can cleanse the stain of indiscriminate mass arrests or violent vengeance against a whole population.

The action of the Soviet Government on the one hand in speaking of sending food to Hungary, while on the other taking military action aimed at starving out the citizens of Budapest, is utterly revolting.

We have heard with interest the Secretary-General's report on the initial steps he has undertaken pursuant to the Assembly's resolution on November 4. We hope he will press forward with his work. We want to know at the earliest possible moment the response of the Soviet Union and of the present Government of Hungary to his cable. We ask: Will the Soviet Union, and the government it has put in power in Hungary, comply with the expressed wishes of the Assembly and cooperate with the Secretary-General in the execution of his responsibilities under the resolution?

Pending the outcome of the further efforts of the Secretary-General, this Assembly can appropriately address itself to the plight of the unfortunate people of Hungary. We now hear of repressive measures against whole segments of the population and of mass deportations. There is widespread hunger, misery, and suffering. There are also the thousands of Hungarian refugees who have fled across Hungary's borders to the West. These are cogent reasons why it is important not only to obtain a firsthand account of events in Hungary, as contemplated by the Assembly resolution, but also to take immediate further steps to meet the urgent problems facing the gallant Hungarian people.

The United States has proposed, in a resolution which is now before the Assembly, to help meet their immediate needs, and I should like to read the text of that resolution:

[See p. 807.]

We urge every member to do all in its power to aid in this vital humanitarian task. It is gratifying to know that, in response to the emergency appeal by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, five states have already offered to help—Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands, and France. In the meantime, Austria has given generously of its resources to care for the refugees in the first hours of their escape. All honor to these countries for this noble effort.

Last night President Eisenhower announced that the United States Government would take all possible measures to permit 5,000 refugees from Hungary to come into this country.⁷

The United States resolution is aimed at immediate needs, and we believe it should be adopted and carried out in the shortest possible time. The resolution submitted by the delegations of Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan, and Peru deals with longer-range objectives. We shall vote for it also.

The Assembly has already called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, where they remain clearly against the will of the people of that unhappy nation—people whose only crime was their desire for basic human rights, rights which in many of our countries are taken for granted. Only a week ago, a declaration by the Soviet Union explicitly promised withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary.⁸ That declaration lent an air of credibility to the claim, which is now proved to have been infamously deceitful, that negotiations on withdrawal were in fact actually under way.

We need action on the part of the Soviet Union in conformity with the expressed will of this Assembly. In the light of the attitude of the Soviet Union we can consider what further United Nations action can be undertaken which is both constructive and feasible.

Let us see how much support the Soviet Union is prepared to give to the words in the United Nations Charter which pledge all members to respect "fundamental human rights" and "the dignity and worth of the human person." Let us see what the force of world opinion, supported by our United Nations observers, can do to achieve the objectives of this Assembly.

We have set machinery in motion. Let us give it a chance to work. If the desired results are

not achieved, then, of course, we must reappraise the situation and determine our future action. We will not let this heart-breaking tragedy drop. We will not forget.

SECOND STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE, NOVEMBER 9

U.S. delegation press release 2510

I am sorry that I am constrained to differ on this particular question with the distinguished representatives of Ceylon, India, and Indonesia as regards their amendments to the U.S. draft resolution. I appreciate the courteous frankness with which they disclose their views, and I shall try to be equally frank and I may say equally courteous.

It seems to me that we would be making a great mistake if we were to strike out these various phrases which it is desired that we strike out. I would like to read what these phrases are.

One is the "military authorities of the U.S.S.R. are interfering in the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies. . . ." Well, we know it to be a fact that they are. Do we want to go on record as voting that a thing is not a fact when we know that it is a fact?

The next amendment would strike out the words "*Calls upon* the U.S.S.R. to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality." We have absolutely firsthand information—we in the United States from our own Legation and many in this hall from many other sources—that that is precisely what is happening. Do we want to vote that that is not happening when we know that it is happening?

Then the words "*Calls upon*" would be stricken out and the word "*Requests*" would be inserted concerning paragraph 2 which reads, "*Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate." And "the U.S.S.R. not to interfere with" would be stricken out. Well, the same objection holds to that amendment, and to the other places where the U.S.S.R. would be struck out.

Then, in section B^o of the resolution, these words would be stricken: "as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly. . . ." Then they would strike out

⁷ See p. 807.

⁸ BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1956, p. 745.

⁹ In the text as adopted, the two sections were marked "I" and "II" rather than "A" and "B."

"being obliged to leave . . . and seek asylum in neighboring countries." Well, that is what is going on. That is what is going on, Mr. President. We have heard from a number of countries who are volunteering to take as many as a thousand of these refugees in each country. President Eisenhower is moving to take 5,000 of them here. There is no use in saying that these dreadful things are not happening, unpleasant and tragic though they are, when they are happening.

Now, we have no interest in propaganda. We have no interest in revenge. But we do not see that there is a distinction that can be drawn between the intent of these words that would be stricken out and the other passages relating to medicines and food. We think that both of these provisions are humanitarian. We think that it is humanitarian to take a step which may free a man from being oppressed. We think it is just as humanitarian to take steps to provide people with international law, justice, and morality as it is to take steps which will put food in their stomachs and give them medicines to cure their illnesses.

The fact is, Mr. President—and we sometimes forget it—that the United Nations is a moral organization. The United Nations has a moral standard. The United Nations Charter does distinguish between right and wrong. The United Nations was never intended to be a mere sordid cockpit in which the values of the criminal and the values of the law-abiding were indiscriminately scrambled up. It is not that, and it should not become so.

Now, that being true, this follows: that there cannot be a double standard of international morality in the world. If discrimination is bad in one part of the world, as it is, then it is bad in another part of the world. If we deplore injustice here, we must deplore injustice there. If we are against prejudice in one area, we should be against prejudice in another area. If we resist brutality in one region, we must resist brutality in the other. If we are going to raise our voices against oppression, if we are going to raise our voices against occupation by foreign troops in one part of the world, then we must be equally steadfast, we must be equally stalwart in the other parts of the world.

In that spirit and for that reason, Mr. President, I hope that the amendments offered by my distinguished friends from Ceylon, India, and

Indonesia will not prevail and that our resolution will be adopted as written.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WADSWORTH, NOVEMBER 9

U.S. delegation press release 2511

I ask for the floor not for an explanation of vote but to make a very brief announcement which we believe should come at this time, since it has to do at least with two of the resolutions which have just been passed by this Assembly.

In answer to the last operative paragraph, both of the United States resolution and of the Austrian resolution, I am authorized to announce that the United States Government is making available at once \$1 million to the Secretary-General for immediate use through appropriate channels for assistance to Hungarian refugees. We hope by this action to emphasize the urgency of this vital task which has become the responsibility of the world community.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 9

Five-Power Proposal¹⁰

U.N. doc. A/Res/397

The General Assembly,

Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

Convinced that the recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers,

Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

1. *Calls again* upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

¹⁰ Submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan, and Peru; adopted by a vote of 48 to 11, with 16 abstentions.

2. *Considers* that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

3. *Reaffirms* its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance herewith.

U.S. Proposal ¹¹

U.N. doc. A/Res/398

The General Assembly,

I

Considering that the military authorities of the U.S.S.R. are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

1. *Calls upon* the U.S.S.R. to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

2. *Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the U.S.S.R. not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

3. *Urges* the U.S.S.R. and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

II

Considering that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

2. *Urges* Member States to make special contributions for this purpose.

Austrian Proposal ¹²

U.N. doc. A/Res/399

The General Assembly,

Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected,

Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

Convinced that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through the international co-operation

stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Resolves* to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to undertake immediately the necessary measures;

4. *Urgently appeals* to all countries concerned to give full assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this task.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON NOVEMBER 10 ¹³

U.N. doc. A/Res/401

The General Assembly

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session;

3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the second emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

Need for Nationwide Effort To Admit Hungarian Refugees

Statement by the President

White House press release dated November 8

Few events of recent times have so stirred the American people as the tragic effort of Hungarian men and women to gain freedom for themselves and for their children. The brutal purge of liberty which followed their heroic struggle will be long and sorrowfully remembered, not only by those directly suffering from that brutality but also by all humans who believe in the dignity of man.

Our immediate concern must be for those whose suffering we, the members of the free world, can effectively alleviate. These are the thousands of escapees who have successfully made their way out of Hungary during the past week. They are older

¹¹ Adopted by a vote of 53 to 9, with 13 abstentions. The amendments to which Mr. Lodge referred in his second statement of Nov. 9 were rejected.

¹² Adopted by a vote of 67 to 0, with 8 abstentions.

¹³ Submitted by the U.S.; adopted by a vote of 53 to 9, with 8 abstentions.

people; they are women; they are children—and many of them are suffering wounds inflicted by the guns of imperialist communism.

It is heartening to witness the speed with which free nations have opened their doors to these most recent refugees from tyranny. In this humanitarian effort our own nation must play its part. I have therefore directed the Administrator of the

Refugee Relief Act to process as many as 5,000 Hungarian refugees as expeditiously as possible. This effort requires the most active help of the great voluntary agencies and other humanitarian organizations, of State and local governments, and of individuals everywhere. I know that the American people will rally wholeheartedly to this great cause.

The Role of Economic Cooperation and Technical Assistance in Our Foreign Policy

by Ben H. Thibodeaux

Director, Office of International Trade and Resources¹

This annual conference on agricultural services to other countries illustrates the change that has occurred in the attitude of the American people regarding our relations with other countries. The changed public attitude is reflected in our official relations with other countries, as expressed in the foreign policy of the United States. In my comments today I shall try to explain how and why.

Let me begin by venturing the statement that only a few years ago many in this room would have been surprised—perhaps “startled” would be a better word—if the United States Department of Agriculture had sponsored a nationwide conference on how best to furnish agricultural technical assistance, largely at the American taxpayers’ expense, to other countries. Today it is taken for granted that such a conference should be held, that it should be held in cooperation with the International Cooperation Administration and our land-grant colleges, and that it should involve the participation of farmer organizations, private philanthropic groups, and many of our friends from other countries.

Until the early 1940’s we were still almost completely preoccupied with the development of our

own agriculture. Our efforts almost entirely were to grow at least a better blade of grass if not two blades where one grew before, to sell our farm products at remunerative prices, and to make possible an ever better living for our farm families.

Certainly these objectives continue in the forefront of our work as essential conditions for the continued well-being of American farm people. But in recent years there has come a general recognition that continuing American agricultural prosperity and security, like American prosperity and security generally, are dependent in large degree upon the existence of favorable economic and political conditions in other countries of the free world. And in many of these countries favorable conditions are possible only if their agriculture can be made better.

From recognition of these facts came action. The scientific and administrative skills that brought American agriculture and American farm living to such high levels are now being shared with others. Today it is my pleasure to participate in your discussions on how best to do that job.

Wide Range of Technical Assistance Programs

Agriculture, of course, is only one of many fields in which we share our know-how. The technical

¹ Address made before the Seventh Conference on Agricultural Services to Foreign Areas at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 23.

assistance of the United States to other countries ranges widely, as you know, to include industrial production, mineral development, medicine and public health, education, and other areas of modern knowledge and practice that contribute to the well-being of people. For economic cooperation with other countries, including technical assistance, has become part and parcel of the foreign policy of the United States, with the approval of the American people and with the participation of many nongovernmental groups such as those we have with us in this meeting.

There is nothing new, of course, about international economic cooperation and technical assistance. We have not developed anything new or bizarre. It has been said that technical assistance began when the man who invented the wheel told somebody about it. Through the centuries, by one means or another, science and technology have spread as they became known, although the process at times has been exceedingly slow. Nor can it be said that there is anything new about international loans or grants of money, either from private sources or by governments.

What is new about our program of economic cooperation and technical assistance is the tremendous scale upon which our Government and our people are engaged in them. You are familiar with the record, beginning even before the Marshall plan.

Why do we share our resources and our skills as a deliberate national policy? What do we get out of it? The answer, simply put, is greater assurance for our economic well-being and our national security. Let us see why.

As a starting point I believe we can accept the truism that we cannot be prosperous and secure in an impoverished and insecure world. Still, that was the kind of world in which we found ourselves at the end of World War II. And since then there has risen in intensified form an expanded and aggressive campaign to extend Communist domination throughout the world. Let us take a quick look at some of the conditions we faced after the war. Most of them are still with us.

Postwar Conditions

Western Europe, the dominant economic and intellectual force of the world for over 2,000 years, emerged from the war impoverished, in rubble, in debt, and in danger of being engulfed by the seep-

age if not the surface flow of communism from the East.

Communist Russia had become a major world power and was engaged in an aggressive campaign to spread its system everywhere, by direct means or by subversion.

When Communist military ventures were arrested by the united action of the free world, the Soviet drive was transmuted into the more subtle form of economic penetration. And in this drive a special target has been the less developed countries. Here huge populations have recently gained their independence, along with aspirations for improved levels of living far beyond their immediate productive capabilities. And here are pressures upon governments by populations, frequently goaded by want, who insist upon a quick improvement in their situation. Governments in such countries find it difficult to retain the adherence of their people unless they can show some progress toward fulfilling their aspirations. It is in these conditions that the Soviets push hardest with trade inducements and liberal loans—all, of course, to the usual propaganda tune that a better living for all men is possible only through the blessings of the Communist system.

In this postwar situation was also the fact of the colossal economic power of the United States and the question as to the role that we would occupy in world affairs. There is no need for me to recite here the detailed statistics of our economic strength. Our per capita income is five times higher than the world average, and the benefits of our great output are widely spread among all of our people. The gross output of our 168 million people is three times that of the 200 million people in Soviet Russia. These facts we know, and most of the world knows them, despite the hackneyed Marxian theme, reiterated for over a hundred years, that our capitalistic system is on the verge of collapse.

Decision To Cooperate

These, in broad summary, were some of the major elements in the assessment of American foreign policy in the postwar period. The choice of a course was analyzed, debated, and finally made by the American people through their elected representatives. The decision was that the United States could not go it alone in world affairs, however great its economic strength.

Militarily, it was recognized that we must have friends and allies, that they must be strong, and that our relations with them must be on the basis of mutual interest and understanding. It was recognized also that political and military ties, however well intentioned, are likely to be brittle unless based upon strong economic foundations and upon the common-sense principle of live and let live in economic affairs.

From this overall decision came our policy of close cooperation with other countries of the free world in economic and military as well as political affairs. For the first time in its peacetime history the United States is now joined with other countries in a number of formal international alliances and arrangements. In the military sector, our mutual defense alliances with other countries extend around the world. On the political side, our participation in the United Nations is a sharp departure from our unwillingness to join in the League of Nations a generation ago.

Our economic cooperation with other countries includes far more than what is usually referred to as economic aid in terms of financial assistance. Perhaps of more continuing significance in the long run are the measures of cooperative self-help we are taking with other countries. Our cooperative technical-assistance programs have a multiplier effect in implanted skills that will continue to bear fruit indefinitely. Other measures of cooperation in self-help are our participation in trade and financial arrangements with other countries to facilitate the expansion of production and the exchange of goods and services.

Our international trade arrangements, chiefly in our joint participation with 34 other countries in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, are directed toward the expansion of trade on a mutually beneficial basis. Our memberships in the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Finance Corporation are contributing to better financial and investment conditions in the world. Our participation in the United Nations, involving financial contributions for technical assistance to other countries, helps to promote improved economic and social conditions in the world as an important element in the maintenance of peace among nations. And among the agencies of the United Nations is the Food and Agriculture Organization and its specialized work in the field of agriculture. We have

also contributed to the work of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Colombo Plan for economic cooperation in Asia, and the Organization of American States.

Encouraging Private Investment Abroad

In addition to our participation in international arrangements such as these, the United States is endeavoring to expand the flow of private investment funds to other countries as a preferred alternative to Government loans, grants, and other assistance. American private investments in themselves do much to strengthen the economies of other countries through the introduction of new skills and needed capital. American private investments in foreign countries amount to approximately \$29 billion, and some 7,500 branches and subsidiaries of American firms are located abroad.

To encourage further expansion our Government offers convertibility and expropriation guaranties on American private investments abroad and Congress has been requested to reduce by 14 percentage points the Federal tax on earnings of corporate overseas investments. Another important factor in facilitating American private enterprise and investments abroad is the treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation that we have negotiated with a number of other countries. These treaties are in the nature of codes of fair treatment for our citizens who wish to trade, or invest in or run a business enterprise in a foreign country.

Foreign policy, of course, covers many other economic matters that I will not attempt to describe or even to enumerate. But perhaps I have said enough to show that our policy of economic cooperation with other countries is being carried out on a large scale and on many fronts. It is a policy that would be in our interest regardless of the Communist threat, because a high level of international trade is imperative for our continued economic growth and foreign trade is profitable for us only to the extent that other countries can trade with us and can pay in earned dollars for what they want to buy from us.

But the fact of a Communist threat gives political urgency to our foreign economic policies. To the extent that these policies serve to strengthen our own country and other countries of the free world, they also serve collaterally to defeat the spread of communism.

Agricultural Programs

Among the successes we have achieved in our foreign economic policies, special commendation is due to the agricultural technical assistance that we have given to other countries. I say this from personal observation of the results obtained in a number of countries. An absolute must for the rehabilitation of Western Europe was the recovery of agriculture, and this was done with the help of our agricultural specialists and the active participation of our major farm organizations. A crippled Greece was helped back toward economic health by our technical assistance in restoring food production and work in blighted areas where people otherwise would have had no means of living. The story of war rehabilitation could be repeated for many areas.

In other places, where there was no physical war damage, the story is one of improved practices. In many countries the stick plow is being replaced by more modern equipment, and farmers who formerly produced barely enough for their subsistence are now able to lift their heads and become members of the economic community. New and more efficient farm methods have followed in the wake of our technologists, and the seed of continued improvement through self-help has been sown in the many countries that now emulate the American county-agent system, our 4-H Clubs, and our Future Farmers of America. The names may differ, but the principle of agricultural extension is now widely practiced in countries where our agricultural specialists have worked.

"Ambassadors in Shirt Sleeves"

In agricultural technical assistance, perhaps more than in most other fields, our people work directly with large groups abroad. These person-to-person relationships give an opportunity for better understanding by foreigners of the United States and its intentions and an opportunity for us to gain an understanding of the foreigner, his ways, and his problems. This kind of understanding is the substance of good relations among peoples, and it can be one of the major end products of a technical-assistance program carried out by competent workers. This kind of understanding is the essence, if you will, of international cooperation. It is small wonder that some of our people in technical-assistance work have been called "ambassadors in shirt sleeves."

Let me illustrate this with what happened in the valley of Tui-Hoa in central Viet-Nam, as told me by one of our returning officials who worked in that country. The Communists, before their expulsion, had destroyed the irrigation system of the valley. Without irrigation water, 100,000 people were unable to work to feed themselves. The outlook was nothing but misery. The newly established anti-Communist Government of Viet-Nam, with the help of the United States, went to work. A job that normally would have required 3 years was completed in 6 months, and the people of Tui-Hoa once again were able to earn their living in freedom.

The people in the valley understood the significance of the cooperative restoration of what had been destroyed by the Communists. Here was positive evidence of what the new government was doing to help its people to live from their own work. Here also was material evidence of the results of cooperation among free nations, with no thought of domination or exploitation of a weak country by the stronger one. The people of Tui-Hoa made their own assessment of the Communist propaganda and distortions during the 9 years of their occupation by Communist forces. At the celebration marking the opening of the reconstructed irrigation works huge banners along the route to the new dam were emblazoned "Long Live President Diem—Long Live Hosmer." Mr. Orville Hosmer was the American irrigation engineer who had been made available by the United States Government to furnish technical assistance in the reconstruction of the irrigation works. The people of Tui-Hoa, in their gratitude, expressed their appreciation in a solid way to the United States by presenting Mr. Hosmer with a baby elephant! (Let me add, parenthetically, that I do not believe the choice of an elephant instead of a donkey implied that the people of Tui-Hoa were intervening in the domestic affairs of the United States.)

And now I should like to raise a question that I am sure you have heard before. When we help other countries to produce better, are we not helping them to compete with us and are we not thereby decreasing our own exports?

I think I have already answered that question when I said that we cannot continue to be prosperous in an impoverished world and we cannot sell unless others can buy. Let me give more substance to that answer. We know that in the

United States we sell more farm and industrial products at higher returns when our business conditions generally are good. The same thing is true in international trade. With economic recovery and improvement in Western Europe and other parts of the world our foreign trade boomed. Our exports this year, excluding military aid, are running at an annual rate of \$17 billion, an all-time high.

Agricultural Surpluses

But how reconcile our agricultural technical assistance to other countries with the \$8 billion of agricultural surpluses owned by or pledged as collateral to the United States Government and the efforts we are making to dispose of these surpluses abroad at subsidized prices, through sales for foreign currencies, through barter, and by outright gifts to the needy? There are several separate although interrelated aspects to that question. Let me try to deal with some of them.

We are the largest importer of agricultural commodities in the world. These imports consist mainly of items that we do not produce or which supplement our own production, such as coffee, sugar, special types of tobacco, cocoa, rubber, and bananas. For commodities that fall in this category it is generally admitted that it makes good sense to help others to produce them better, or at lower cost.

But what about commodities already in burdensome supply here and abroad? For such commodities it can be argued that the United States would ill serve itself and other countries by aiding in a further expansion of production for export, thereby contributing to further decreases in world prices to the detriment of ourselves and of other exporting countries. Still, there are situations where people are unable to pay for imports, and unless they can produce for themselves they must do without or with very little.

Perhaps I can also illustrate this with the situation at Tui-Hoa. The irrigation system of Tui-Hoa was restored, enabling the people to grow rice. Suppose it had not been restored. Would this have created a market for commercial exports of rice from the United States, or from any other source? No, because, being unable to buy, the people of Tui-Hoa would have done without rice except to the extent that they were given charity. In time they probably would have reconstructed

their irrigation system without outside aid, but it would have taken longer and life in the meantime would have been difficult. In these conditions I leave it to you to judge what the reaction of the people of Tui-Hoa might have been and whether their faith in their new government and its co-operation with the United States could have been sustained.

And now briefly to another aspect of agricultural technical assistance, namely, our own domestic agricultural surpluses and our disposal of them abroad. Certainly here, if we wished, we could easily make come true the Communist propaganda that our surpluses are being used to crush agricultural production in other countries through our disruption of markets. But we have not wished it, nor have we done it. In Public Law 480, relating to the disposal of agricultural surpluses abroad, it is expressly stipulated that reasonable precautions must be taken to assure that export sales for foreign currencies must be conducted without undue disruption of world prices. The President in turn issued a policy instruction² that our products will be offered at competitive prices but that our agricultural surpluses under Public Law 480 will not be used to impair the traditional competitive position of friendly countries by disrupting world prices. Accordingly, the surplus disposal program has been carefully administered with a view to the least possible interference with normal commercial sales. This we have done. Moreover, a large part of the proceeds from our sales for local currencies abroad is being used for the economic development of the recipient countries.³

And now, finally, I should like to sum up what I have said by leaving this thought with you: We are living in a world transformed, a world that is different from the one in which you and I grew up. In the world of today a foreign policy consistent with our own best interests is a policy of close cooperation with other countries of the free world, and this cooperation must include cooperation in economic affairs. That is the policy we have. And in that policy an important element is the technical-assistance program that has shown itself to be so eminently successful.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 4, 1954, p. 499.

³ For a recent progress report on the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, see *ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1956, p. 230.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

International Atomic Energy Agency Established

The International Atomic Energy Agency was established on October 26 at U. N. Headquarters in New York, when 70 nations signed a statute at the conclusion of a conference in which 81 nations participated. Following are the texts of a letter from President Eisenhower to João Carlos Muniz, president of the conference; a statement by President Eisenhower read at the closing session by Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission; a statement by Ambassador James J. Wadsworth in the Main Committee of the conference on October 15; a statement by Ambassador Wadsworth at the closing session; and the statute.

LETTER AND STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House press release dated October 26

President Eisenhower to President Muniz

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I beg to acknowledge your gracious invitation to address the closing session of the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency on October the twenty-sixth.

This invitation has been a source of gratification to me personally and to the people of the United States. It had been my earnest hope to appear at this historic Conference, at which the largest number of nations in history are met together. But it is now clear that the special circumstances of my present life,—which add inescapable political engagements to my official duties,—oblige me to deny myself the honor and privilege of accepting your great courtesy. It will be necessary for me to be present in Washington on Friday of this week.

May I hope, Mr. President, that you will express my sincere regrets to the assembled Delegates, and transmit to them some considerations which I had wished to present in person at the Conference's concluding session and which I am enclosing with this letter.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Statement at Closing Session

Mr. President and Delegates to the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

Almost three years have passed since I was honored by an invitation to speak to the General Assembly of the United Nations. On that occasion, I proposed in behalf of the United States that atomic power—the greatest force science ever placed in man's hand—be put to work for peace.

Specifically, my proposal was: *first*, that governments begin, and continue, to make from their atomic materials stockpiled for war joint contributions to an International Agency; and, *second*, that this Agency be responsible for finding methods to apply these atomic materials to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful pursuits of mankind.

The United States then pledged its entire heart and mind to finding how the miraculous inventiveness of man should be dedicated, not to his death, but consecrated to his life.

The atom was regarded, in 1953, as a terrible weapon for war. Since the first explosion in 1945, man had fearfully multiplied its destructiveness. People knew that a single airgroup could carry a more devastating cargo than all the bombs that fell on Britain in World War II. Several nations

had learned to make atomic weapons and swiftly transport them across oceans and continents. To many people the doom of civilization in a nuclear war seemed inevitable. When they looked ahead, they saw no hope for a peaceful future.

The proposal made in 1953 by the United States offered: for apathy, action; for despair, hope; for the whirlpool of general war, a channel to the harbor of future peace.

From the time that proposal was made, I watched with ardent expectation the outcome of all the work done by the sponsoring powers and the working groups, and the debates in the General Assembly and at this culminating Conference. The planning and framing of the International Atomic Energy Agency has required many months of patience and intelligent effort. These labors have now been completed by the Conference's approval of the Statute.

I congratulate the Conference for what it has accomplished. The Statute, and the International Agency for which it provides, hold out to the world a fresh hope for peace.

Since the United States made its proposal in 1953, the intensity of the atom's destructiveness has again been greatly multiplied. For their own salvation, men are under a compulsion that must not be denied to turn this furious, mighty power from the devastation of war to the constructive purposes and practices of peace.

That is why the world needs fresh hope—a new chance for man working with man to root out past frustration and past hopelessness.

That is why the United States will never cease from seeking trustworthy agreements under which all nations will cooperate to disarm the atom.

To spur the coming of such a day, the peace-loving nations have pressed forward with benign uses of the atom for man's well-being and welfare. As increased knowledge makes more terrible the atom's might, it also brings closer the realization of its potential for good.

Peace can come from nations working together. When they have a common cause and a common interest, they are drawn together by this bond.

We—as one of the peace-loving nations—have sought to share our atomic skills and materials.

Last February, we offered to make available to friendly nations, for peaceful use, 20,000 kilograms of nuclear materials—an amount equal to that allocated for like use within the United

States. And we have entered into agreements with thirty-seven nations represented at the Conference—and are negotiating with fourteen more—to cooperate in building in their lands atomic reactors, of all types and sizes, for peaceful works.

People have shown their hunger to learn the intricate mysteries of the new atomic science. We have tried to satisfy that hunger, to break open doors that sealed off the knowledge they sought—through initiating great scientific congresses and by providing libraries and training courses and schools. We have been happy to offer our knowledge of ways to use the atom for peace, of ways to use the atomic isotope in medical care and cure and in agriculture and industry. Because science is without boundaries, a common knowledge of the peaceful application of this new science can help us all to a better understanding of each other.

In all those things that we do as a government, the United States does not seek for domination or control or profit. Nor shall we as a government ever do so.

It is now for nations assembled at this Conference formally to adopt the Statute.

Here is what I, in behalf of the United States, propose.

First: It shall be my care, when our Congress reassembles, to present the Statute for official ratification by our Senate in accordance with our Constitution, and to request appropriate Congressional authority to transfer special nuclear materials to the International Atomic Energy Agency. I wish my country to be among the first to recognize by official action what you at this Conference have accomplished.

Second: To enable the International Atomic Energy Agency—upon its establishment by appropriate governmental actions—to start atomic research and power programs without delay, the United States will make available to the International Agency, on terms to be agreed with the Agency, 5,000 kilograms of the nuclear fuel uranium 235 from the 20,000 kilograms of such material allocated last February by the United States for peaceful uses by friendly nations.

Third: In addition to the above-mentioned initial 5,000 kilograms of uranium 235, the United States will continue to make available to the International Atomic Energy Agency nuclear materials that will match in amount the sum of all quantities of such materials made similarly available by all other members of the International Agency,

and on comparable terms, for the period between the establishment of the Agency and July 1, 1960. The United States will deliver these nuclear materials to the International Agency as they are required for Agency-approved projects.

Assuming that all nations represented at the Conference undertake parallel steps,—within their capabilities,—together we can overcome the obstacles that lie ahead and prove to each other that international controls are not only feasible but generally acceptable as a way to achieve peace.

The prompt and successful functioning of the Agency can begin to translate the myriad uses of atomic energy into better living: in our homes, at our work, during our travel and our rest.

At present, we see only the first fruits of this atomic growth. Atomic-fueled plants, which are being planned or built in this and several countries, will in a few years be producing power for civilian uses: to turn the wheels of factories—to light the darkness in countless homes.

We will not lead people to expect the advent overnight of an atomic millennium. In many countries, long and patient scientific experimentation and trial must precede the generation from atomic sources of electric power that can compete with that produced by using available coal, oil, gas, or water power. But, in the meantime, this International Agency will be encouraging those scientific labors and research to hasten the looked-for day.

The benefits of our daily living which will result from putting the atom to work for peace—more abundant and cheaper power and light, irrigation of arid lands, less costly transportation, the opening to industry of territories hitherto denied—may come to us more slowly than we would wish. But there is something more important than these material benefits. I mean those highways that lead to a settled tranquillity among nations.

People have long been seeking a channel for peaceful discussion. The International Atomic Energy Agency offers one such channel. During the last three years of deliberations upon its establishment and functioning, this channel has been kept open. It shall be the purpose of the United States to broaden this channel and to encourage its general use.

Some day, we fervently hope, sanity will overcome man's propensity to destroy himself. Then, the world can beat its swords into ploughshares.

Ambassador Wadsworth Appointed to IAEA Preparatory Commission

Press release 557 dated October 25

Secretary Dulles on October 25 appointed Ambassador James J. Wadsworth to be the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The Commission will carry out the steps necessary to bring the agency into being. Ambassador Wadsworth has served as the United States Representative to the conference which approved the statute for the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Since January 1956 he has carried forward the statute negotiations on behalf of the United States which have now been brought to a successful conclusion.

Ambassador Wadsworth is the Permanent Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations, a position he has held since 1953. He has been a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly for the past 4 years.

All nations can turn their plants that make nuclear fuel to an exclusively civilian use, and the fuel in their stockpiled nuclear weapons can also be put to work for man's health and welfare. In that happy time, the giant of atomic energy can become, not a frightening image of destructive war, but an obedient servant in a prosperous and peaceful world.

The real vision of the atomic future rests not in the material abundance which it should eventually bring for man's convenience and comfort in living. It lies in finding at last, through the common use of such abundance, a way to make the nations of the world friendly neighbors on the same street.

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR WADSWORTH, OCTOBER 15

U.S./U.N. press release 2473 dated October 17

I wish only to make some general comments on the present draft of article XII. I do not propose to discuss at this time any of the amendments which have been submitted. Some of those amendments are under discussion among several delegations, including my delegation, and it is my fervent hope that compromises may be achieved which will make some of the amendments acceptable to my delegation as well as to other dele-

gations that have spoken on this subject at the past several meetings.

I do believe, however, that there has been a certain amount of misunderstanding about some of the provisions of the draft, and I should like to try to clarify some of these misunderstandings. I have listened with great attention to the statements that have been made by those who feel that these controls are too onerous or too rigid. However, I fail to discern from any of the statements that any representative here advances the proposition that there should be no controls. I believe that we can safely say that all delegations recognize the need for controls. Further than that, I think we can safely say that all delegations recognize the need for relevant controls. The only differences of opinion lie in what might be interpreted as being relevant and what might be interpreted as being irrelevant and too harsh.

I would submit that an interpretation similar to that which we heard from other delegations here, notably the Canadian delegation and most recently the Brazilian delegation, is a very simple and easy way of coming to a determination as to just what this article of the statute means. In fact, in my opinion it is the only way of reaching such a determination.

The high aims of the agency which we are striving to set up are well stated in article II, which has already been approved by the committee. The representative of South Africa has just referred to this point. Article II states:

The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contributions of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world. It shall ensure, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

The 11 articles which we have discussed and passed in this committee, with no negative votes to my recollection and with only one or two abstentions, provide a solid framework for realization of the agency's first objective, namely, to put the atom to work for the benefit of the world. There is no objective more worthy of every nation's wholehearted support, and I know of none to which the United States is prepared to give greater devotion. It would be unthinkable, however, to move ahead toward that great objective without adequate provision for the second objective set forth in article II, namely the assurance of nondiversion to military purposes.

In the view of the United States delegation, the system of safeguards provided for in article XII is of basic importance. We believe that the deletion of any fundamental feature from it would create a danger of diversions from agency projects to nonpeaceful uses. At the same time, it is designed to respect the rights and interests of those to whom it applies to the maximum degree consistent with effective application. We are confident that members availing themselves of the agency's support will not find the application of article XII onerous in any way. What is perhaps more important in view of the situation obtaining in the world today, members will be reassured by the knowledge that the agency, in applying these safeguards to *all* its projects without favor, will not be assisting any of their neighbors to make atomic weapons.

I propose to run quickly through the provisions to show that they fully confirm the comments which I have just made on the adequacy of the system of safeguards there set forth, its reasonableness, and its fairness toward those to whom it applies. Before doing that, I should like to make a brief comment responsive to some fundamental questions on safeguards which arose in the course of the general debate at the beginning of this conference and in recent debate on this article.

Fundamental Questions on Safeguards

One may properly start with one of the most elementary questions: Why are safeguards necessary at all? The answer that immediately comes to mind seems to be sufficient. Small amounts of material used or produced in the course of agency-supported peaceful projects can be adapted for use in weapons of a destructive force almost beyond comparison with the most powerful weapons of the preatomic era, and more important still is the possibility that the explosion of only one such weapon in a local conflict might be enough to set off a worldwide conflagration. Granting that a sound system of safeguards could prevent the diversion of agency-provided elements to such ends, why is it worth the trouble, as long as there are atomic energy programs unrelated to the agency, and therefore not subject to its safeguards, which can produce the very weapons that agency-supported operations must stay away from completely? The existence of the agency and its safeguards would be no barrier to countries which already have the materials and the know-how for

making atomic weapons, or can get them from a source which does not insist upon safeguards.

The capacity, existing or potential, to make atomic weapons is a fact. It is a fact for which the agency is not responsible and which the agency cannot assume the primary responsibility to correct. But the agency must assume the responsibility of seeing that its activities do not make the existing situation worse. If the agency were to make the materials and information for peaceful development of atomic energy available throughout the world without full assurance that they cannot be used to produce weapons, it would be adding to a problem which, difficult as it is, is sufficiently confined to keep up the world's hope for a solution.

As I stated at the very beginning of this conference, the United States has made, and will continue to make, unremitting efforts to solve that problem. We are gratified that this conference has taken a first step to permit this agency to contribute to the solution by authorizing it to apply its safeguards on request to national, bilateral, and multilateral activities otherwise outside its scope. True, the agency cannot be expected to cope with the whole world problem of atomic weapons; but it can and must be sure that its own activities do not complicate that problem beyond solution.

Determining Relevancy

Turning now to the specific provisions of article XII, we note that the introductory words of paragraph A make the safeguards there listed applicable "to the extent relevant to the project or arrangement" in question. The phrase "to the extent relevant" establishes a rule of reason at the very beginning of the safeguards article. Thus, if an agency project were to involve only the supplying to a member of radioisotopes for medical diagnosis, for example, there would be no occasion and no need for approving the design of specialized equipment, to require the maintenance of operating records, to make any provision for disposition of fissionable byproducts, or to send any inspectors into the territory of the recipient state.

A similar case might be the supplying under a project agreement of a radioactive source not capable of contributing to the production of significant amounts of special fissionable material for the purpose of inducing chemical reactions in some industrial process, or for medical therapy, or for

biological or agricultural research. In such a case, it might well be that none of the listed safeguards, except those relating to the protection of health and safety, could be regarded as relevant.

We can, of course, agree with the principle that the Board of Governors should exercise judgment and moderation in determining the relevancy of safeguards to be applied. Surely the Board must be responsive to the general conference, and the general conference will be made up in large measure of those states which have been characterized during this debate as the underdeveloped countries. Specifically, the controls applied to source materials before irradiation should be the minimum necessary and should not and will not be of the same order as those which will have to be applied to byproduct fissionable materials. And it will be my Government's position, if we serve on this Board, that this principle shall be applied in the management of the agency. I think I might add that never since the drafts of this article were started, never since I have had anything to do with this matter, beginning in Washington last February, has there been any thought that the maximum safeguards would be applied regardless of the importance of the project. Perhaps it is not completely understood, but it should be, that, when we talk about including source materials, we are not talking about ore in the ground; we are not talking about mining operations; we are not talking about anything except the point where that source material approaches and actively enters the project concerning which it should be controlled.

Thus, if we run down the list of safeguards specified in article XII, paragraph A, it will be seen that, in situations where the safeguards are relevant, they are not likely to be unduly burdensome. As has been pointed out by other representatives, the right to approve the design of any specified equipment and facilities, for example, does not impose an unlimited obligation on the member concerned to lay every detail of its facilities before the agency. The agency's approval is based only on the considerations suggested by article XII itself; that is, whether the design in question would permit effective application of the enumerated safeguards and insure that the project will not further any military purpose. There is no intention to extend the agency's right to approve or disapprove under article XII the design where it is not relevant to the problem of safe-

guarding or to base the agency's decision on any criterion unrelated to safeguards.

As for the second listed safeguard, requiring observance of health and safety measures prescribed by the agency, I cannot imagine that any member would regard this provision, aimed at the protection of its own citizens and their property, as an undesirable burden.

The third and fourth safeguards, dealing with the maintenance of operating records to provide accountability for source and special fissionable materials, and with progress reports, could not be regarded as burdensome even if they were not as indispensable as they are in assuring against diversion to military purposes. We submit that sound management alone, without regard to the problem of safeguards, would dictate the maintenance of accurate accountability for as valuable an asset as source and special fissionable materials, and no well-run enterprise could long continue without the equivalent of progress reports.

Disposition of Byproducts

The fifth listed safeguard is the most crucial of all and, as we all know, provides, first, that the means used for chemical processing of materials irradiated in a project must be approved by the agency. Because of the possibilities of diversion at the stage of chemical processing, investing the agency with this right is indispensable. This subparagraph also gives the agency the right to specify disposition of any special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a byproduct of the project or arrangement in question. Since it is precisely the special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a byproduct which are the elements most readily susceptible of diversion to military use and most dangerous to health and safety, it is essential, in our opinion, to insure that these materials cannot be diverted for military purposes. This subparagraph also provides the basis for preventing the accumulation of stockpiles of special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a byproduct of a project or arrangement. All such materials are to be deposited with the agency, except for quantities authorized by the agency to be retained for specified nonmilitary use under continuing agency safeguards.

As was pointed out by the representative of Canada on Friday [October 12]—and we would willingly support the clarification he suggested—this does not mean that the country producing

such materials will not be permitted to retain them merely because the agency is dissatisfied on technical or economic grounds with the use to which the materials are to be put. But it does mean, and it is meant to mean, that the retention must be for use and not merely for accumulation in a stockpile. Elsewhere it is also provided that in its activities the agency must guard against the undue amassing or collecting of dangerous amounts of special fissionable material. This is one of the cases in point. Since a stockpile honestly intended for future peaceful use is indistinguishable from one intended for future military use and, in fact, might be quickly turned to military use, the agency cannot permit the accumulation of any stockpiles of fissionable materials derived from agency-supported projects other than stockpiles under agency control.

It is important to emphasize here again that this safeguard is not onerous in its application. The fact that a nation producing byproduct fissionable materials in an agency-supported project cannot stockpile them itself does not mean that it cannot make full use of them for any peaceful purpose it may choose, under continuing agency safeguards. If this use is not immediate and there must be a period of deposit with the agency, it is not unlikely that the costs of storage in agency facilities could be less than they would be if numerous small storage facilities had to be set up in each recipient country for the needs of each individual project.

We now come to subparagraph 6, which gives the agency the right to send inspectors into the territory of the recipient states for the purpose of verifying compliance with the applicable safeguards. Without such a provision, the safeguarding machinery of the agency would, in our view, be meaningless. I point out that the inspectors under the agency system of safeguards are members of the staff of the agency, and we sincerely trust that they will be drawn from all members of the agency. Therefore they are selected according to the high standards set forth in article VII, which we have recently approved. I point out also that they are to be designated after consultation with the state or states concerned. They are to be given access at all times to all places, persons, and data necessary to account for the source and special fissionable materials involved in the project and to determine whether there is compliance with the other applicable safeguards.

It is important to emphasize that, although the inspectors are given access to all places, persons, and data, this is subject to the limitation contained in the words "necessary to account for," and so forth. It always lies within the power of the inspected member to keep the inspection from becoming burdensome by directing the inspectors to such places, persons, and data as will fully account for the source and special fissionable materials involved and will clearly show compliance with the other safeguards.

The seventh subparagraph provides that the agency may suspend or terminate assistance in the event of noncompliance. It is to be noted here that the state in question is to be given a reasonable time in which to take corrective steps before any sanctions are to be applied.

Paragraph B provides for the establishment of a staff of inspectors and gives the inspectors the responsibility of examining all operations conducted by the agency itself to assure that the agency's activities comply with the safeguarding measures equally as do the recipient countries.

Paragraph C states the responsibilities of the inspectors in administering the safeguards listed in paragraph A. It also spells out the procedures by which sanctions are to be brought to bear in the event of noncompliance. Note that the inspectors report noncompliance to the Director General, who in turn transmits the report to the Board of Governors. It is only the Board of Governors which may apply sanctions, and here, too, it is only after it has called upon the state in question to take corrective action and has given it a reasonable time to do so. In this respect, paragraph C is a spelling out in some detail of what was stated summarily as a right and responsibility in paragraph A-7.

In conclusion, I should like to repeat that my remarks today are directed toward the article as it is now written. They do not preclude the acceptance by my delegation of reasonable amendments, which are, as I say, under discussion at this time. I pledge the efforts of my delegation to this end because I agree thoroughly with the representative of Afghanistan in his statement that the statute which we produce here must be acceptable to the largest possible number of nations. As far as I am concerned, I have always held that to be the basic tenet of our position. It must be acceptable to the largest possible number of all of us here, always with the understanding

that the changes that are made must not be such as to endanger the support of this agency by those countries that are expected to support it.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WADSWORTH, OCTOBER 23

U.S./U.N. press release 2476 dated October 23

In my opening remarks to this conference—only some 5 weeks ago—I expressed the hope that at the end of our conference we would be able to say to our fellow men: We have done something here that makes it more likely that we and our children will live out our lives in peace—we have done something, in the words of the United Nations Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."¹

I sincerely believe that our conference has accomplished this objective. In large measure, Mr. President [João Carlos Muniz of Brazil], our success can be attributed to the outstanding statesmanship with which you have guided our deliberations. Our discussions have required constant tact, resourcefulness, and determination from you, sir. Our achievement represents yet another distinguished accomplishment in your already distinguished career.

We are grateful to our Vice President, Dr. [Pavel] Winkler [of Czechoslovakia], for the consistently fair, able, and effective way he has handled our discussions when he has been in the chair. We wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and particularly to Dr. Ralph Bunche [Under-Secretary] for his valuable advice and collaboration in the work of this conference. To the entire secretariat may I express our appreciation for the excellent service they have rendered.

Yet, fellow delegates, leadership even of the highest quality cannot do the whole job. I want to express my personal thanks to each and every delegate here—and my pride in being part of this historic undertaking. The spirit of harmony and good will which has characterized this meeting, Mr. President, augurs well for the success of the new agency.

It is not always easy to recognize a turning point in history, but I have often wondered during our deliberations if the creation of this agency might

¹ BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1956, p. 537.

not represent such an occasion. Not tomorrow, perhaps not next year, but in the years to come the promise of atomic energy for bettering life on this planet challenges the imagination. Science has given us the knowledge. Diplomacy has developed the instrument. May we have the wisdom to use both for the benefit of all mankind!

STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY²

ARTICLE I

Establishment of the Agency

The Parties hereto establish an International Atomic Energy Agency (hereinafter referred to as "the Agency") upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth.

ARTICLE II

Objectives

The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world. It shall ensure, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

ARTICLE III

Functions

A. The Agency is authorized:

1. to encourage and assist research on, and development and practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful uses throughout the world; and, if requested to do so, to act as an intermediary for the purposes of securing the performance of services or the supplying of materials, equipment, or facilities by one member of the Agency for another; and to perform any operation or service useful in research on, or development or practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful purposes;

2. to make provision, in accordance with this Statute, for materials, services, equipment, and facilities to meet the needs of research on, and development and practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, with due consideration for the needs of the under-developed areas of the world;

3. to foster the exchange of scientific and technical information on peaceful uses of atomic energy;

4. to encourage the exchange and training of scientists and experts in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy;

5. to establish and administer safeguards designed to ensure that special fissionable and other materials, services, equipment, facilities, and information made

available by the Agency or at its request or under its supervision or control are not used in such a way as to further any military purpose; and to apply safeguards, at the request of the parties, to any bilateral or multilateral arrangement, or, at the request of a State, to any of that State's activities in the field of atomic energy;

6. to establish or adopt, in consultation and, where appropriate, in collaboration with the competent organs of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies concerned, standards of safety for protection of health and minimization of danger to life and property (including such standards for labour conditions), and to provide for the application of these standards to its own operations as well as to the operations making use of materials, services, equipment, facilities, and information made available by the Agency or at its request or under its control or supervision; and to provide for the application of these standards, at the request of the parties, to operations under any bilateral or multilateral arrangement, or, at the request of a State, to any of that State's activities in the field of atomic energy;

7. to acquire or establish any facilities, plant and equipment useful in carrying out its authorized functions, whenever the facilities, plant, and equipment otherwise available to it in the area concerned are inadequate or available only on terms it deems unsatisfactory.

B. In carrying out its functions, the Agency shall:

1. conduct its activities in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations to promote peace and international co-operation, and in conformity with policies of the United Nations furthering the establishment of safeguarded world-wide disarmament and in conformity with any international agreements entered into pursuant to such policies;

2. establish control over the use of special fissionable materials received by the Agency, in order to ensure that these materials are used only for peaceful purposes;

3. allocate its resources in such a manner as to secure efficient utilization and the greatest possible general benefit in all areas of the world, bearing in mind the special needs of the under-developed areas of the world;

4. submit reports on its activities annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations and, when appropriate, to the Security Council; if in connexion with the activities of the Agency there should arise questions that are within the competence of the Security Council, the Agency shall notify the Security Council, as the organ bearing the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and may also take the measures open to it under this Statute, including those provided in paragraph C of article XII;

5. submit reports to the Economic and Social Council and other organs of the United Nations on matters within the competence of these organs.

C. In carrying out its functions, the Agency shall not make assistance to members subject to any political, economic, military, or other conditions incompatible with the provisions of this Statute.

D. Subject to the provisions of this Statute and to the terms of agreements concluded between a State or a

²For texts of earlier drafts of the statute, see *ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1955, p. 666, and May 21, 1956, p. 852.

group of States and the Agency which shall be in accordance with the provisions of the Statute, the activities of the Agency shall be carried out with due observance of the sovereign rights of States.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

A. The initial members of the Agency shall be those States Members of the United Nations or of any of the specialized agencies which shall have signed this Statute within ninety days after it is opened for signature and shall have deposited an instrument of ratification.

B. Other members of the Agency shall be those States, whether or not Members of the United Nations or of any of the specialized agencies, which deposit an instrument of acceptance of this Statute after their membership has been approved by the General Conference upon the recommendation of the Board of Governors. In recommending and approving a State for membership, the Board of Governors and the General Conference shall determine that the State is able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership in the Agency, giving due consideration to its ability and willingness to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

C. The Agency is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members, and all members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with this Statute.

ARTICLE V

General Conference

A. A General Conference consisting of representatives of all members shall meet in regular annual session and in such special sessions as shall be convened by the Director General at the request of the Board of Governors or of a majority of members. The sessions shall take place at the headquarters of the Agency unless otherwise determined by the General Conference.

B. At such sessions, each member shall be represented by one delegate who may be accompanied by alternates and by advisers. The cost of attendance of any delegation shall be borne by the member concerned.

C. The General Conference shall elect a President and such other officers as may be required at the beginning of each session. They shall hold office for the duration of the session. The General Conference, subject to the provisions of this Statute, shall adopt its own rules of procedure. Each member shall have one vote. Decisions pursuant to paragraph H of article XIV, paragraph C of article XVIII and paragraph B of article XIX shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional questions or categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting. A majority of members shall constitute a quorum.

D. The General Conference may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of this Statute or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for

in this Statute, and may make recommendations to the membership of the Agency or to the Board of Governors or to both on any such questions or matters.

E. The General Conference shall:

1. elect members of the Board of Governors in accordance with article VI;

2. approve States for membership in accordance with article IV;

3. suspend a member from the privileges and rights of membership in accordance with article XIX;

4. consider the annual report of the Board;

5. in accordance with article XIV, approve the budget of the Agency recommended by the Board or return it with recommendations as to its entirety or parts to the Board, for resubmission to the General Conference;

6. approve reports to be submitted to the United Nations as required by the relationship agreement between the Agency and the United Nations, except reports referred to in paragraph C of article XII, or return them to the Board with its recommendations;

7. approve any agreement or agreements between the Agency and the United Nations and other organizations as provided in article XVI or return such agreements with its recommendations to the Board, for resubmission to the General Conference;

8. approve rules and limitations regarding the exercise of borrowing powers by the Board, in accordance with paragraph G of article XIV; approve rules regarding the acceptance of voluntary contributions to the Agency; and approve, in accordance with paragraph F of article XIV, the manner in which the general fund referred to in that paragraph may be used;

9. approve amendments to this Statute in accordance with paragraph C of article XVIII;

10. approve the appointment of the Director General in accordance with paragraph A of article VII.

F. The General Conference shall have the authority:

1. to take decisions on any matters specifically referred to the General Conference for this purpose by the Board;

2. to propose matters for consideration by the Board and request from the Board reports on any matter relating to the functions of the Agency.

ARTICLE VI

Board of Governors

A. The Board of Governors shall be composed as follows:

1. The outgoing Board of Governors (or in the case of the first Board, the Preparatory Commission referred to in Annex I) shall designate for membership on the Board the five members most advanced in the technology of atomic energy including the production of source materials and the member most advanced in the technology of atomic energy including the production of source materials in each of the following areas not represented by the aforesaid five:

(1) North America

(2) Latin America

(3) Western Europe

- (4) Eastern Europe
- (5) Africa and the Middle East
- (6) South Asia
- (7) South East Asia and the Pacific
- (8) Far East.

2. The outgoing Board of Governors (or in the case of the first Board, the Preparatory Commission referred to in Annex I) shall designate for membership on the Board two members from among the following other producers of source materials: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Portugal; and shall also designate for membership on the Board one other member as a supplier of technical assistance. No member in this category in any one year will be eligible for redesignation in the same category for the following year.

3. The General Conference shall elect ten members to membership on the Board of Governors, with due regard to equitable representation on the Board as a whole of the members in the areas listed in sub-paragraph A-1 of this article, so that the Board shall at all times include in this category a representative of each of those areas except North America. Except for the five members chosen for a term of one year in accordance with paragraph D of this article, no member in this category in any one term of office will be eligible for re-election in the same category for the following term of office.

B. The designations provided for in sub-paragraphs A-1 and A-2 of this article shall take place not less than sixty days before each regular annual session of the General Conference. The elections provided for in sub-paragraph A-3 of this article shall take place at regular annual sessions of the General Conference.

C. Members represented on the Board of Governors in accordance with sub-paragraphs A-1 and A-2 of this article shall hold office from the end of the next regular annual session of the General Conference after their designation until the end of the following regular annual session of the General Conference.

D. Members represented on the Board of Governors in accordance with sub-paragraph A-3 of this article shall hold office from the end of the regular annual session of the General Conference at which they are elected until the end of the second regular annual session of the General Conference thereafter. In the election of these members for the first Board, however, five shall be chosen for a term of one year.

E. Each member of the Board of Governors shall have one vote. Decisions on the amount of the Agency's budget shall be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting, as provided in paragraph H of article XIV. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional questions or categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of those present and voting. Two-thirds of all members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

F. The Board of Governors shall have authority to carry out the functions of the Agency in accordance with this Statute, subject to its responsibilities to the General Conference as provided in this Statute.

G. The Board of Governors shall meet at such times as it may determine. The meetings shall take place at the

headquarters of the Agency unless otherwise determined by the Board.

H. The Board of Governors shall elect a Chairman and other officers from among its members and, subject to the provisions of this Statute, shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

I. The Board of Governors may establish such committees as it deems advisable. The Board may appoint persons to represent it in its relations with other organizations.

J. The Board of Governors shall prepare an annual report to the General Conference concerning the affairs of the Agency and any projects approved by the Agency. The Board shall also prepare for submission to the General Conference such reports as the Agency is or may be required to make to the United Nations or to any other organization the work of which is related to that of the Agency. These reports, along with the annual reports, shall be submitted to members of the Agency at least one month before the regular annual session of the General Conference.

ARTICLE VII

Staff

A. The staff of the Agency shall be headed by a Director General. The Director General shall be appointed by the Board of Governors with the approval of the General Conference for a term of four years. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Agency.

B. The Director General shall be responsible for the appointment, organization, and functioning of the staff and shall be under the authority of and subject to the control of the Board of Governors. He shall perform his duties in accordance with regulations adopted by the Board.

C. The staff shall include such qualified scientific and technical and other personnel as may be required to fulfill the objectives and functions of the Agency. The Agency shall be guided by the principle that its permanent staff shall be kept to a minimum.

D. The paramount consideration in the recruitment and employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be to secure employees of the highest standards of efficiency, technical competence, and integrity. Subject to this consideration, due regard shall be paid to the contributions of members to the Agency and to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

E. The terms and conditions on which the staff shall be appointed, remunerated, and dismissed shall be in accordance with regulations made by the Board of Governors, subject to the provisions of this Statute and to general rules approved by the General Conference on the recommendation of the Board.

F. In the performance of their duties, the Director General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any source external to the Agency. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as officials of the Agency; subject to their responsibilities to the Agency, they shall not disclose any industrial secret or other confidential information coming to their knowledge by reason of their official duties

for the Agency. Each member undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director General and the staff and shall not seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

G. In this article the term "staff" includes guards.

ARTICLE VIII

Exchange of information

A. Each member should make available such information as would, in the judgement of the member, be helpful to the Agency.

B. Each member shall make available to the Agency all scientific information developed as a result of assistance extended by the Agency pursuant to article XI.

C. The Agency shall assemble and make available in an accessible form the information made available to it under paragraphs A and B of this article. It shall take positive steps to encourage the exchange among its members of information relating to the nature and peaceful uses of atomic energy and shall serve as an intermediary among its members for this purpose.

ARTICLE IX

Supplying of materials

A. Members may make available to the Agency such quantities of special fissionable materials as they deem advisable and on such terms as shall be agreed with the Agency. The materials made available to the Agency may, at the discretion of the member making them available, be stored either by the member concerned or, with the agreement of the Agency, in the Agency's depots.

B. Members may also make available to the Agency source materials as defined in article XX and other materials. The Board of Governors shall determine the quantities of such materials which the Agency will accept under agreements provided for in article XIII.

C. Each member shall notify the Agency of the quantities, form, and composition of special fissionable materials, source materials, and other materials which that member is prepared, in conformity with its laws, to make available immediately or during a period specified by the Board of Governors.

D. On request of the Agency a member shall, from the materials which it has made available, without delay deliver to another member or group of members such quantities of such materials as the Agency may specify, and shall without delay deliver to the Agency itself such quantities of such materials as are really necessary for operations and scientific research in the facilities of the Agency.

E. The quantities, form and composition of materials made available by any member may be changed at any time by the member with the approval of the Board of Governors.

F. An initial notification in accordance with paragraph C of this article shall be made within three months of the entry into force of this Statute with respect to the member concerned. In the absence of a contrary decision of the Board of Governors, the materials initially made available shall be for the period of the calendar year succeeding the year when this Statute takes effect with

respect to the member concerned. Subsequent notifications shall likewise, in the absence of a contrary action by the Board, relate to the period of the calendar year following the notification and shall be made no later than the first day of November of each year.

G. The Agency shall specify the place and method of delivery and, where appropriate, the form and composition, of materials which it has requested a member to deliver from the amounts which that member has notified the Agency it is prepared to make available. The Agency shall also verify the quantities of materials delivered and shall report those quantities periodically to the members.

H. The Agency shall be responsible for storing and protecting materials in its possession. The Agency shall ensure that these materials shall be safeguarded against (1) hazards of the weather, (2) unauthorized removal or diversion, (3) damage or destruction, including sabotage, and (4) forcible seizure. In storing special fissionable materials in its possession, the Agency shall ensure the geographical distribution of these materials in such a way as not to allow concentration of large amounts of such materials in any one country or region of the world.

I. The Agency shall as soon as practicable establish or acquire such of the following as may be necessary:

1. plant, equipment, and facilities for the receipt, storage, and issue of materials;
2. physical safeguards;
3. adequate health and safety measures;
4. control laboratories for the analysis and verification of materials received;
5. housing and administrative facilities for any staff required for the foregoing.

J. The materials made available pursuant to this article shall be used as determined by the Board of Governors in accordance with the provisions of this Statute. No member shall have the right to require that the materials it makes available to the Agency be kept separately by the Agency or to designate the specific project in which they must be used.

ARTICLE X

Services, equipment, and facilities

Members may make available to the Agency services, equipment, and facilities which may be of assistance in fulfilling the Agency's objectives and functions.

ARTICLE XI

Agency projects

A. Any member or group of members of the Agency desiring to set up any project for research on, or development or practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful purposes may request the assistance of the Agency in securing special fissionable and other materials, services, equipment, and facilities necessary for this purpose. Any such request shall be accompanied by an explanation of the purpose and extent of the project and shall be considered by the Board of Governors.

B. Upon request, the Agency may also assist any member or group of members to make arrangements to secure

necessary financing from outside sources to carry out such projects. In extending this assistance, the Agency will not be required to provide any guarantees or to assume any financial responsibility for the project.

C. The Agency may arrange for the supplying of any materials, services, equipment, and facilities necessary for the project by one or more members or may itself undertake to provide any or all of these directly, taking into consideration the wishes of the member or members making the request.

D. For the purpose of considering the request, the Agency may send into the territory of the member or group of members making the request a person or persons qualified to examine the project. For this purpose the Agency may, with the approval of the member or group of members making the request, use members of its own staff or employ suitably qualified nationals of any member.

E. Before approving a project under this article, the Board of Governors shall give due consideration to:

1. the usefulness of the project, including its scientific and technical feasibility;
2. the adequacy of plans, funds, and technical personnel to assure the effective execution of the project;
3. the adequacy of proposed health and safety standards for handling and storing materials and for operating facilities;
4. the inability of the member or group of members making the request to secure the necessary finances, materials, facilities, equipment, and services;
5. the equitable distribution of materials and other resources available to the Agency;
6. the special needs of the under-developed areas of the world; and
7. such other matters as may be relevant.

F. Upon approving a project, the Agency shall enter into an agreement with the member or group of members submitting the project, which agreement shall:

1. provide for allocation to the project of any required special fissionable or other materials;
2. provide for transfer of special fissionable materials from their then place of custody, whether the materials be in the custody of the Agency or of the member making them available for use in Agency projects, to the member or group of members submitting the project, under conditions which ensure the safety of any shipment required and meet applicable health and safety standards;
3. set forth the terms and conditions, including charges, on which any materials, services, equipment, and facilities are to be provided by the Agency itself, and, if any such materials, services, equipment, and facilities are to be provided by a member, the terms and conditions as arranged for by the member or group of members submitting the project and the supplying member;
4. include undertakings by the member or group of members submitting the project (a) that the assistance provided shall not be used in such a way as to further any military purpose; and (b) that the project shall be subject to the safeguards provided for in article XII, the relevant safeguards being specified in the agreement;

5. make appropriate provision regarding the rights and interests of the Agency and the member or members concerned in any inventions or discoveries, or any patents therein, arising from the project;

6. make appropriate provision regarding settlement of disputes;

7. include such other provisions as may be appropriate.

G. The provisions of this article shall also apply where appropriate to a request for materials, services, facilities, or equipment in connexion with an existing project.

ARTICLE XII

Agency safeguards

A. With respect to any Agency project, or other arrangement where the Agency is requested by the parties concerned to apply safeguards, the Agency shall have the following rights and responsibilities to the extent relevant to the project or arrangement:

1. to examine the design of specialized equipment and facilities, including nuclear reactors, and to approve it only from the viewpoint of assuring that it will not further any military purpose, that it complies with applicable health and safety standards, and that it will permit effective application of the safeguards provided for in this article;

2. to require the observance of any health and safety measures prescribed by the Agency;

3. to require the maintenance and production of operating records to assist in ensuring accountability for source and special fissionable materials used or produced in the project or arrangement;

4. to call for and receive progress reports;

5. to approve the means to be used for the chemical processing of irradiated materials solely to ensure that this chemical processing will not lend itself to diversion of materials for military purposes and will comply with applicable health and safety standards; to require that special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a by-product be used for peaceful purposes under continuing Agency safeguards for research or in reactors, existing or under construction, specified by the member or members concerned; and to require deposit with the Agency of any excess of any special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a by-product over what is needed for the above-stated uses in order to prevent stockpiling of these materials, provided that thereafter at the request of the member or members concerned special fissionable materials so deposited with the Agency shall be returned promptly to the member or members concerned for use under the same provisions as stated above;

6. to send into the territory of the recipient State or States inspectors, designated by the Agency after consultation with the State or States concerned, who shall have access at all times to all places and data and to any person who by reason of his occupation deals with materials, equipment, or facilities which are required by this Statute to be safeguarded, as necessary to account for source and special fissionable materials supplied and fissionable products and to determine whether there is compliance with the undertaking against use in furtherance

of any military purpose referred to in sub-paragraph F-4 of article XI, with the health and safety measures referred to in sub-paragraph A-2 of this article, and with any other conditions prescribed in the agreement between the Agency and the State or States concerned. Inspectors designated by the Agency shall be accompanied by representatives of the authorities of the State concerned, if that State so requests, provided that the inspectors shall not thereby be delayed or otherwise impeded in the exercise of their functions;

7. In the event of non-compliance and failure by the recipient State or States to take requested corrective steps within a reasonable time, to suspend or terminate assistance and withdraw any materials and equipment made available by the Agency or a member in furtherance of the project.

B. The Agency shall, as necessary, establish a staff of inspectors. The staff of inspectors shall have the responsibility of examining all operations conducted by the Agency itself to determine whether the Agency is complying with the health and safety measures prescribed by it for application to projects subject to its approval, supervision or control, and whether the Agency is taking adequate measures to prevent the source and special fissionable materials in its custody or used or produced in its own operations from being used in furtherance of any military purpose. The Agency shall take remedial action forthwith to correct any non-compliance or failure to take adequate measures.

C. The staff of inspectors shall also have the responsibility of obtaining and verifying the accounting referred to in sub-paragraph A-6 of this article and of determining whether there is compliance with the undertaking referred to in sub-paragraph F-4 of article XI, with the measures referred to in sub-paragraph A-2 of this article, and with all other conditions of the project prescribed in the agreement between the Agency and the State or States concerned. The inspectors shall report any non-compliance to the Director General who shall thereupon transmit the report to the Board of Governors. The Board shall call upon the recipient State or States to remedy forthwith any non-compliance which it finds to have occurred. The Board shall report the non-compliance to all members and to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations. In the event of failure of the recipient State or States to take fully corrective action within a reasonable time, the Board may take one or both of the following measures: direct curtailment or suspension of assistance being provided by the Agency or by a member, and call for the return of materials and equipment made available to the recipient member or group of members. The Agency may also, in accordance with article XIX, suspend any non-complying member from the exercise of the privileges and rights of membership.

ARTICLE XIII

Reimbursement of members

Unless otherwise agreed upon between the Board of Governors and the member furnishing to the Agency materials, services, equipment, or facilities, the Board shall enter into an agreement with such member providing for reimbursement for the items furnished.

ARTICLE XIV

Finance

A. The Board of Governors shall submit to the General Conference the annual budget estimates for the expenses of the Agency. To facilitate the work of the Board in this regard, the Director General shall initially prepare the budget estimates. If the General Conference does not approve the estimates, it shall return them together with its recommendations to the Board. The Board shall then submit further estimates to the General Conference for its approval.

B. Expenditures of the Agency shall be classified under the following categories:

1. Administrative expenses; these shall include:

(a) costs of the staff of the Agency other than the staff employed in connexion with materials, services, equipment, and facilities referred to in sub-paragraph B-2 below; costs of meetings; and expenditures required for the preparation of Agency projects and for the distribution of information;

(b) costs of implementing the safeguards referred to in article XII in relation to Agency projects or, under sub-paragraph A-5 of article III, in relation to any bilateral or multilateral arrangement, together with the costs of handling and storage of special fissionable material by the Agency other than the storage and handling charges referred to in paragraph E below;

2. Expenses, other than those included in sub-paragraph 1 of this paragraph, in connexion with any materials, facilities, plant, and equipment acquired or established by the Agency in carrying out its authorized functions, and the costs of materials, services, equipment, and facilities provided by it under agreements with one or more members.

C. In fixing the expenditures under sub-paragraph B-1 (b) above, the Board of Governors shall deduct such amounts as are recoverable under agreements regarding the application of safeguards between the Agency and parties to bilateral or multilateral arrangements.

D. The Board of Governors shall apportion the expenses referred to in sub-paragraph B-1 above, among members in accordance with a scale to be fixed by the General Conference. In fixing the scale the General Conference shall be guided by the principles adopted by the United Nations in assessing contributions of Member States to the regular budget of the United Nations.

E. The Board of Governors shall establish periodically a scale of charges, including reasonable uniform storage and handling charges, for materials, services, equipment, and facilities furnished to members by the Agency. The scale shall be designed to produce revenues for the Agency adequate to meet the expenses and costs referred to in sub-paragraph B-2 above, less any voluntary contributions which the Board of Governors may, in accordance with paragraph F, apply for this purpose. The proceeds of such charges shall be placed in a separate fund which shall be used to pay members for any materials, services, equipment, or facilities furnished by them and to meet other expenses referred to in sub-paragraph B-2 above which may be incurred by the Agency itself.

F. Any excess of revenues referred to in paragraph E over the expenses and costs there referred to, and any voluntary contributions to the Agency, shall be placed in a general fund which may be used as the Board of Governors, with the approval of the General Conference, may determine.

G. Subject to rules and limitations approved by the General Conference, the Board of Governors shall have the authority to exercise borrowing powers on behalf of the Agency without, however, imposing on members of the Agency any liability in respect of loans entered into pursuant to this authority, and to accept voluntary contributions made to the Agency.

H. Decisions of the General Conference on financial questions and of the Board of Governors on the amount of the Agency's budget shall require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

ARTICLE XV

Privileges and immunities

A. The Agency shall enjoy in the territory of each member such legal capacity and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of its functions.

B. Delegates of members together with their alternates and advisers, Governors appointed to the Board together with their alternates and advisers, and the Director General and the staff of the Agency, shall enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary in the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Agency.

C. The legal capacity, privileges, and immunities referred to in this article shall be defined in a separate agreement or agreements between the Agency, represented for this purpose by the Director General acting under instructions of the Board of Governors, and the members.

ARTICLE XVI

Relationship with other organizations

A. The Board of Governors, with the approval of the General Conference, is authorized to enter into an agreement or agreements establishing an appropriate relationship between the Agency and the United Nations and any other organizations the work of which is related to that of the Agency.

B. The agreement or agreements establishing the relationship of the Agency and the United Nations shall provide for:

1. Submission by the Agency of reports as provided for in sub-paragraphs B-4 and B-5 of article III;

2. Consideration by the Agency of resolutions relating to it adopted by the General Assembly or any of the Councils of the United Nations and the submission of reports, when requested, to the appropriate organ of the United Nations on the action taken by the Agency or by its members in accordance with this Statute as a result of such consideration.

ARTICLE XVII

Settlement of disputes

A. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation or application of this Statute which is not settled by negotiation shall be referred to the International Court

of Justice in conformity with the Statute of the Court, unless the parties concerned agree on another mode of settlement.

B. The General Conference and the Board of Governors are separately empowered, subject to authorization from the General Assembly of the United Nations, to request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question arising within the scope of the Agency's activities.

ARTICLE XVIII

Amendments and withdrawals

A. Amendments to this Statute may be proposed by any member. Certified copies of the text of any amendment proposed shall be prepared by the Director General and communicated by him to all members at least ninety days in advance of its consideration by the General Conference.

B. At the fifth annual session of the General Conference following the coming into force of this Statute, the question of a general review of the provisions of this Statute shall be placed on the agenda of that session. On approval by a majority of the members present and voting, the review will take place at the following General Conference. Thereafter, proposals on the question of a general review of this Statute may be submitted for decision by the General Conference under the same procedure.

C. Amendments shall come into force for all members when:

(i) approved by the General Conference by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting after consideration of observations submitted by the Board of Governors on each proposed amendment, and

(ii) accepted by two-thirds of all the members in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. Acceptance by a member shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of acceptance with the depositary Government referred to in paragraph C of article XXI.

D. At any time after five years from the date when this Statute shall take effect in accordance with paragraph E of article XXI or whenever a member is unwilling to accept an amendment to this Statute, it may withdraw from the Agency by notice in writing to that effect given to the depositary Government referred to in paragraph C of article XXI, which shall promptly inform the Board of Governors and all members.

E. Withdrawal by a member from the Agency shall not affect its contractual obligations entered into pursuant to article XI or its budgetary obligations for the year in which it withdraws.

ARTICLE XIX

Suspension of privileges

A. A member of the Agency which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Agency shall have no vote in the Agency if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two years. The General Conference may, nevertheless, permit such a member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member.

B. A member which has persistently violated the provisions of this Statute or of any agreement entered into

by it pursuant to this Statute may be suspended from the exercise of the privileges and rights of membership by the General Conference acting by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting upon recommendation by the Board of Governors.

ARTICLE XX

Definitions

As used in this Statute:

1. The term "special fissionable material" means plutonium-239; uranium-233; uranium enriched in the isotopes 235 or 233; any material containing one or more of the foregoing; and such other fissionable material as the Board of Governors shall from time to time determine; but the term "special fissionable material" does not include source material.

2. The term "uranium enriched in the isotopes 235 or 233" means uranium containing the isotopes 235 or 233 or both in an amount such that the abundance ratio of the sum of these isotopes to the isotope 238 is greater than the ratio of the isotope 235 to the isotope 238 occurring in nature.

3. The term "source material" means uranium containing the mixture of isotopes occurring in nature; uranium depleted in the isotope 235; thorium; any of the foregoing in the form of metal, alloy, chemical compound, or concentrate; any other material containing one or more of the foregoing in such concentration as the Board of Governors shall from time to time determine; and such other material as the Board of Governors shall from time to time determine.

ARTICLE XXI

Signature, acceptance, and entry into force

A. This Statute shall be open for signature on 26 October 1956 by all States Members of the United Nations or of any of the specialized agencies and shall remain open for signature by those States for a period of ninety days.

B. The signatory States shall become parties to this Statute by deposit of an instrument of ratification.

C. Instruments of ratification by signatory States and instruments of acceptance by States whose membership has been approved under paragraph B of article IV of this Statute shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, hereby designated as depositary Government.

D. Ratification or acceptance of this Statute shall be effected by States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

E. This Statute, apart from the Annex, shall come into force when eighteen States have deposited instruments of ratification in accordance with paragraph B of this article, provided that such eighteen States shall include at least three of the following States: Canada, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. Instruments of ratification and instruments of acceptance deposited thereafter shall take effect on the date of their receipt.

F. The depositary Government shall promptly inform all States signatory to this Statute of the date of each

deposit of ratification and the date of entry into force of the Statute. The depositary Government shall promptly inform all signatories and members of the dates on which States subsequently become parties thereto.

G. The Annex to this Statute shall come into force on the first day this Statute is open for signature.

ARTICLE XXII

Registration with the United Nations

A. This Statute shall be registered by the depositary Government pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

B. Agreements between the Agency and any member or members, agreements between the Agency and any other organization or organizations, and agreements between members subject to approval of the Agency, shall be registered with the Agency. Such agreements shall be registered by the Agency with the United Nations if registration is required under Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XXIII

Authentic texts and certified copies

This Statute, done in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, each being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the depositary Government. Duly certified copies of this Statute shall be transmitted by the depositary Government to the Governments of the other signatory States and to the Governments of States admitted to membership under paragraph B of article IV.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Statute.

DONE at the Headquarters of the United Nations, this twenty-sixth day of October, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six.³

ANNEX I

Preparatory Commission

A. A Preparatory Commission shall come into existence on the first day this Statute is open for signature. It shall be composed of one representative each of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Portugal, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and United States of America, and one representative each of six other States to be chosen by the International Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Preparatory Commission shall remain in existence until this Statute comes into force and thereafter until the General Conference has convened and a Board of Governors has been selected in accordance with article VI.

B. The expenses of the Preparatory Commission may be met by a loan provided by the United Nations and for this purpose the Preparatory Commission shall make the necessary arrangements with the appropriate authorities

³For list of signatories, see "Treaty Information," BULLETIN of Nov. 5, 1956, p. 738.

of the United Nations, including arrangements for repayment of the loan by the Agency. Should these funds be insufficient, the Preparatory Commission may accept advances from Governments. Such advances may be set off against the contributions of the Governments concerned to the Agency.

C. The Preparatory Commission shall:

1. elect its own officers, adopt its own rules of procedure, meet as often as necessary, determine its own place of meeting and establish such committees as it deems necessary;

2. appoint an executive secretary and staff as shall be necessary, who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine;

3. make arrangements for the first session of the General Conference, including the preparation of a provisional agenda and draft rules of procedure, such session to be held as soon as possible after the entry into force of this Statute;

4. make designations for membership on the first Board of Governors in accordance with sub-paragraphs A-1 and A-2 and paragraph B of article VI;

5. make studies, reports, and recommendations for the first session of the General Conference and for the first meeting of the Board of Governors on subjects of concern to the Agency requiring immediate attention, including (a) the financing of the Agency; (b) the programmes and budget for the first year of the Agency; (c) technical problems relevant to advance planning of Agency operations; (d) the establishment of a permanent Agency staff; and (e) the location of the permanent headquarters of the Agency;

6. make recommendations for the first meeting of the Board of Governors concerning the provisions of a headquarters agreement defining the status of the Agency and the rights and obligations which will exist in the relationship between the Agency and the host Government;

7. (a) enter into negotiations with the United Nations with a view to the preparation of a draft agreement in accordance with article XVI of this Statute, such draft agreement to be submitted to the first session of the General Conference and to the first meeting of the Board of Governors; and (b) make recommendations to the first session of the General Conference and to the first meeting of the Board of Governors concerning the relationship of the Agency to other international organizations as contemplated in article XVI of this Statute.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

UNESCO General Conference

The Department of State announced on November 5 (press release 570) the U.S. delegation to the ninth session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The session will be held at New Delhi, India, November 5 to December 5. Delegates from most of the 77 member states of this specialized agency of the United Nations will attend the General Conference.

The U.S. Government will be represented by the the following delegation:

U.S. Representatives

Stanley C. Allyn, *Chairman*, President, National Cash Register Company, Dayton, Ohio
Athelstan F. Spilhaus, *Vice Chairman*, Dean, Institute of Technology, University of Minnesota
Elizabeth E. Heffelfinger, Wayzata, Minn.
Helen C. Russell, San Francisco, Calif.
Asa T. Spaulding, Vice President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N.C.

Alternate U.S. Representatives

Herold C. Hunt, Under Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Robert A. McClintock, American Ambassador to Cambodia

Congressional Adviser

Hugh Scott, House of Representatives

Special Assistant to the Chairman

Robert S. Oelman, Executive Vice President, National Cash Register Company, Dayton, Ohio

Advisers

Frank L. Fernbach, Research Department, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D.C.
Willard Givens, Washington, D.C.
Graham Hall, American Embassy, New Delhi
Ralph Hardy, Vice President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Washington, D.C.
Henry Hope, Chairman, Fine Arts Department, University of Indiana
Henry J. Kellermann, American Embassy, Paris
Carol C. Laise, American Embassy, New Delhi
Guy A. Lee, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State
Max McCullough, Director, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State
Donald Marquis, Chairman, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan
Mrs. Florence B. Shaw, New York, N.Y.
James Simsarian, Office of Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Frank G. Siscoe, Division of Research for U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, Department of State
Edward G. Trueblood, American Embassy, Paris

Secretary of Delegation

Millard L. Kenestrick, Chief, Administrative Staff, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

Administrative Officer

Frank England, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

The General Conference, which is the governing body of UNESCO, convenes at 2-year intervals. The forthcoming meeting will be devoted largely to an examination of the program and budget for the calendar years 1957 and 1958 proposed by the Director General, a discussion of organizational problems, and a review of the activities which have taken place since the eighth session at Montevideo, November 12-December 10, 1954.

The conference will also consider the organization's programs in education, cultural activities, the social sciences, mass communication, and the natural sciences, as well as three proposed major projects devoted to (1) free and compulsory education for children in Latin America, (2) arid-zone research, and (3) mutual appreciation of Asian and Western cultural values.

ICAO Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting

The Department of State announced on November 8 (press release 574) that the U.S. Government will be represented by the following delegation at the Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting, to be convened by the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization at Antigua, Guatemala, on November 13, 1956:

Delegate

Hugh H. McFarlane, *Chairman*, Chief, International Standards Branch, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

Advisers

Reuben H. Clinkscales, Flight Operations Specialist, Air Carrier Division, Civil Aeronautics Board

Thomas A. Kouchnerkavich, Electronics Engineer, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

Robert M. Nye, Lt. Col., USAF, Directorate of Plans, Policy Division, Civil Air Branch, Department of the Air Force

Clifford W. Walker, Aviation Safety Adviser, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce, Miami, Fla.

The purpose of this meeting is to prepare a complete radio-navigation aids plan, providing full position-fixing coverage for all air routes within the Caribbean region. The provision of adequate radio air-navigation aids, both for the navigation of individual aircraft and for air-traffic control purposes, is urgently needed in order to meet the increasing air-navigation require-

ments within the region. The meeting is expected to last approximately 2 weeks.

Governing Body of the International Labor Office

The Department of State announced on November 8 (press release 575) that the U.S. Government will be represented at the 133d session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office, to be convened at Geneva, Switzerland, from November 20 to 24, 1956, by the following delegation:

Representative

J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor

Substitute Representative

Arnold L. Zempel, Executive Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Advisers

Otis E. Mulliken, Deputy Director, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
B. Allen Rowland, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Commerce

George Tobias, Labor Attaché, American Consulate General, Geneva

The full session will be preceded by meetings of various committees of the Governing Body beginning on November 14.

The Governing Body usually meets three times a year to receive reports on activities of the International Labor Office, outline future work of the Office, examine and recommend the annual budget, and prepare agenda for the annual sessions of the International Labor Conference.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Bills of Lading

International convention for unification of certain rules relating to bills of lading, and protocol of signature. Dated at Brussels August 25, 1924. Entered into force June 2, 1931. 51 Stat. 233.

Accession deposited (with reservations)¹: Netherlands, August 18, 1956.

¹ Additional information.

Fisheries

Revision of agreement at Sixth Session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, Tokyo, September 30-October 14, 1955. Entered into force October 31, 1955. TIAS 3674.

Morocco

Declaration and protocol of the conference on the status of Tangier. Signed at Tangier October 29, 1956. Entered into force October 29, 1956.

Signatures: Belgium, France, Italy, Morocco, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

Trade and Commerce

Protocol of rectification to French text of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva June 15, 1955.

Signature: Japan, October 24, 1956.

Entry into force: October 24, 1956, for those provisions which relate to parts II and III of the General Agreement.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1956. Open for signature at Washington through May 18, 1956.

Acceptances deposited: Israel, November 2, 1956; Switzerland, November 6, 1956.

BILATERAL

Argentina

Agreement for an educational exchange program. Signed at Buenos Aires November 5, 1956. Entered into force November 5, 1956.

Ecuador

Agreement for an educational exchange program. Signed at Quito October 31, 1956. Entered into force October 31, 1956.

United Kingdom

Agreement amending section III of the annex to the air service agreement of February 11, 1946, as amended (TIAS 1507, 1640, 1714, and 3338), to revise present United States route 9 and United Kingdom route 6. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 17 and 30, 1956. Entered into force October 30, 1956.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Robert G. McGregor as Deputy Director of the Office of Dependent Area Affairs, effective October 7, 1956.

Olcott H. Deming as Special Assistant, Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, effective October 21, 1956.

Edward J. Rowell as Officer in Charge of Social Affairs, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, effective October 21, 1956.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Basic Documents—U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Pub. 6364. International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 33. 44 pp. 25¢.

A publication containing the texts of documents relating to the creation, membership, by-laws, rules of procedure, etc., of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

An Investment in Understanding—Educational Exchange Program Between the United States and Finland. Pub. 6366. International Information and Cultural Series 51. 27 pp. 20¢.

A report of the first 5 years of operation of the program of educational exchange between the United States and Finland.

The Quest for Peace. Pub. 6391. General Foreign Policy Series 111. 35 pp. 40¢.

Quotations from President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles highlighting the major steps in the search for peace through the security and unity of the free world.

The Suez Canal Problem, July 26-September 22, 1956. Pub. 6392. International Organization and Conference Series II, Near and Middle Eastern and African 1. 370 pp. \$1.25.

A collection of documents relating to the purported nationalization of the Suez Canal, including agreements reached at the conferences in London, England, and texts of treaties of the past century which have an important bearing upon the present legal status of the canal.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: Negotiations Under the Trade Agreement Act of 1934 as Amended and Extended. Pub. 6394. Commercial Policy Series 161. 8 pp. Limited distribution.

A pamphlet containing the notice of intention of the United States Government to participate in limited trade agreement negotiations with the Government of Cuba, supplemental to negotiations conducted at Geneva, Switzerland, earlier in the year.

Termination of the Occupation Regime in the Federal Republic of Germany. TIAS 3425. Pub. 6096. 1,571 pp. \$4.50.

Protocol between the United States of America and other governments—Signed at Paris October 23, 1956, with related documents. Entered into force May 5, 1955.

International Sanitary Regulations—World Health Organization Regulations No. 2. TIAS 3625. 127 pp. 70¢.

Adopted by the Fourth World Health Assembly at Geneva May 25, 1951. Entered into force October 1, 1952.

Agriculture. The Role of Economic Cooperation and Technical Assistance in Our Foreign Policy (Thibodeaux) . . .	808
American Republics. ICAO Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting (delegation) . . .	829
Atomic Energy	
Ambassador Wadsworth Appointed to IAEA Preparatory Commission . . .	815
International Atomic Energy Agency Established (Eisenhower, Wadsworth, text of statute) . . .	813
Aviation. ICAO Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting (delegation) . . .	829
Department and Foreign Service. Designations (McGregor, Deming, Rowell) . . .	830
Economic Affairs. The Role of Economic Cooperation and Technical Assistance in Our Foreign Policy (Thibodeaux) . . .	808
Egypt	
Israel Urged To Withdraw Armed Forces From Egypt (Eisenhower, Ben-Gurion) . . .	797
United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary (Eisenhower, Bulganin) . . .	795
France. United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
Hungary	
The Hungarian Question Before the General Assembly (Lodge, Wadsworth, texts of resolutions) . . .	800
Need for Nationwide Effort To Admit Hungarian Refugees (Eisenhower) . . .	807
U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary (Eisenhower, Bulganin) . . .	795
International Organizations and Meetings	
Ambassador Wadsworth Appointed to IAEA Preparatory Commission . . .	815
Governing Body of the International Labor Office (delegation) . . .	829
ICAO Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting (delegation) . . .	829
International Atomic Energy Agency Established (Eisenhower, Wadsworth, text of statute) . . .	813
UNESCO General Conference (delegation) . . .	828
Israel	
Israel Urged To Withdraw Armed Forces From Egypt (Eisenhower, Ben-Gurion) . . .	797
United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
Military Affairs. U.S. Law Concerning Service in Armed Forces of Foreign States . . .	799
Mutual Security. The Role of Economic Cooperation and Technical Assistance in Our Foreign Policy (Thibodeaux) . . .	808
Near East	
Evacuation of Americans From Middle East . . .	798
United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary (Eisenhower, Bulganin) . . .	795
Presidential Documents	
International Atomic Energy Agency Established . . .	813
Israel Urged To Withdraw Armed Forces From Egypt . . .	797
Need for Nationwide Effort To Admit Hungarian Refugees . . .	807
U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary . . .	795
Protection of Nationals and Property	
Evacuation of Americans From Middle East . . .	798

U.S. Law Concerning Service in Armed Forces of Foreign States . . .	799
Publications. Recent Releases . . .	830
Refugees and Displaced Persons. Need for Nationwide Effort To Admit Hungarian Refugees (Eisenhower) . . .	807
Treaty Information	
Current Actions . . .	829
International Atomic Energy Agency Established (Eisenhower, Wadsworth, text of statute) . . .	813
United Kingdom	
Letters of Credence (Caccia) . . .	797
United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
United Nations	
The Hungarian Question Before the General Assembly (Lodge, Wadsworth, texts of resolutions) . . .	800
Governing Body of the International Labor Office (delegation) . . .	829
ICAO Special Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting (delegation) . . .	829
United Nations Sets Up Middle East Police Force (Lodge, texts of resolutions) . . .	787
UNESCO General Conference (delegation) . . .	828
U.S.S.R.	
The Hungarian Question Before the General Assembly (Lodge, Wadsworth, texts of resolutions) . . .	800
U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal To Use Force in Egypt; Urges U.S.S.R. To Withdraw Troops From Hungary (Eisenhower, Bulganin) . . .	795

Name Index

Ben-Gurion, David . . .	798
Bulganin, Nikolai A. . .	796
Caccia, Harold Anthony . . .	797
Deming, Olcott H. . .	830
Eisenhower, President . . .	796, 797, 807, 813
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. . .	787, 800
McGregor, Robert G. . .	830
Rowell, Edward J. . .	830
Thibodeaux, Ben H. . .	808
Wadsworth, James J. . .	806, 815

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 5-11

Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Press release issued prior to November 5 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 557 of October 25.

No.	Date	Subject
570	11/5	Delegation to UNESCO (rewrite).
†571	11/5	Exchange agreement with Argentina.
*572	11/6	Hoover: death of Ambassador Nufer.
†573	11/7	Atoms-for-peace team to visit Latin America.
574	11/8	Delegation to ICAO (rewrite).
575	11/8	Delegation to ILO (rewrite).
*576	11/8	Delegation to 11th U.N. General Assembly.
577	11/9	U.K. credentials (rewrite).
578	11/9	Evacuation of Americans from Middle East.
579	11/10	Law regarding service in foreign armed forces.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



the
Department
of
State

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)

The Suez Canal Problem

In this documentary volume is printed a considerable collection of documents pertaining to events from the purported nationalization of the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company by the Egyptian Government on July 26, 1956, through the Second London Conference on the Suez Canal, September 19-21. Texts of those agreements and treaties of the past century which have a particularly important bearing on the present legal status of the Suez Canal are included. Also in the publication are key documents on the "nationalization" of the canal and on the Western reaction; all the substantive statements of the 22-power London Conference; published papers of the Five-Power Suez Committee and of the Second London Conference on the Suez Canal; and significant public statements of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles on the Suez Canal problem throughout the period from the "nationalization" of the Universal Suez Canal Company to the action at London to establish a Canal Users Association.

Copies of *The Suez Canal Problem, July 26-September 22, 1956* may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$1.25 each.

Publication 6392

\$1.25

Order Form

to: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$.....
(cash, check, or
money order).

Please send me copies of *The Suez Canal Problem*.

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

AVOIL
D